000

The Lolo of Liang-shan
[Liang-shan I-chia]

Lin Yueh-hwa

Shanghai: 1947
The Commercial Press

Translated from the Chinese by Ju Shu Pan

Human Relations Area Files
1960

[Title page]

000

Table of Contents

Page
Preface ii

Chapter
1 The Frontier Region 1
2 The Clan 20
3 Kinship 34
4 The Family 45
5 Marriage 57
6 Economic Life 70
7 Classes 83
8 Clan Feuds 97
9 Magic 110

Appendix
1 Lolo Kinship Terms 124
2 An Account of the Inspection Trip to Szechwan Border Regions [not translated].

PREFACE

114 More than ten years ago I dreamed of traveling in Liang Shan and penetrating into the "Lolo nation," called the Independent Lolo region by foreign writers. Since the Sino-Japanese War, I have traveled and taught in the provinces of Szechwan and Yunnan. So I have had the opportunity to observe firsthand the immense southwest hinterland of China. Last summer I went to investigate the Lolo area in Liang Shan, and my previous dream was realized.

The period of investigation lasted from July 2 to September 26, altogether 87 days. My student assistant Hu Liang-
chen, the janitor of the school Old Fan, and I myself started
from Ch'eng-tu. After we reached Lei-po we hired two inter-
[124] preters, one named Wang Chü-sung and the other Hu Chan-yün,
and also three black Lolo as headmen-protectors. These constituted the Frontier Inspection Team of Yenching University. We went westward to the Ta-liang Shan and Hsiao-liang Shan for field study. The details of this trip have been recounted in Appendix II [not translated] and need not be repeated here.

101 The name "Lolo" is not used frequently among the people themselves in Liang Shan. The Chinese in the frontier area call the Lolo "Man-tzu"; in their own conversation they call themselves "I-chia." Therefore Lolo, Man-tzu, and I-chia are different terms, but they refer to the same people.

128 This book is entitled Liang-shan I-chia. Liang Shan is a geographical area; the meaning of I-chia is twofold. In a broad sense it denotes the whole Lolo society, and in a restricted sense it denotes the Lolo family and clan organization. The first chapter of this book, "Regions," points out the geographical area covered by this inspection trip. Chapters 2 through 5 describe Lolo social structure from large social groups to smaller ones in a continuous sequence from clan, kinship, family, to marriage. Chapters 6 through 9 describe the various important aspects of Lolo life, such as the economy, social classes, clan feuds, and magic, all characteristic of this society.

121 Liang-shan I-chia is a field report based on the data collected personally by the author. The study is centered on the family and the clan, but it also touches upon other phases of

121 life related to the family and clan. Otherwise it would be just a general survey without being able to demonstrate in a penetrating way the contents of their life. I have also collected some data regarding Lolo physical anthropology, but because of statistical and technical difficulty they will have to be published in a separate paper in the near future. Besides these, there are some scriptures written in the Lolo language which need translation, and some personal biographies which need further editing [2] before they could be published.

122 The report on the trip to Liang Shan is now completed in its final form. I wish to take this chance to thank my many friends. First, I am most grateful to my former teacher, Dr. Wu Wen-tsao, for his wholehearted support and particularly for his effort to help me in this trip. Secondly, Professor Serge Elisséeff of Harvard University has personally encouraged me to undertake this field study. Also many famous professors in the department of anthropology at Harvard have kindly taught me and deeply impressed upon me the importance of strict scientific training. During the compilation of this study, I am indebted to Dr. Li Fang-kuei for the pronunciation of Lolo kinship terms. All the illustrations and figures were drawn by Mr. Chen Shu-yung, an assistant in the Department of Sociology at Yenching. I am also indebted to all my co-workers and friends in the frontier region, who have instructed and helped me.

Finally, the financial resources of this trip have come from three institutions: Chung-kuo K'ang-chien K'ên-chih Shê [China Society for Cultivation and Colonization during Wartime Reconstruction], the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Harvard-Yenching Institute. The author would like to use this opportunity to give them his personal thanks.

June 26, 1944, Yenching University, Ch'eng-tu. Szechwan.

[1] CHAPTER 1

THE FRONTIER REGION

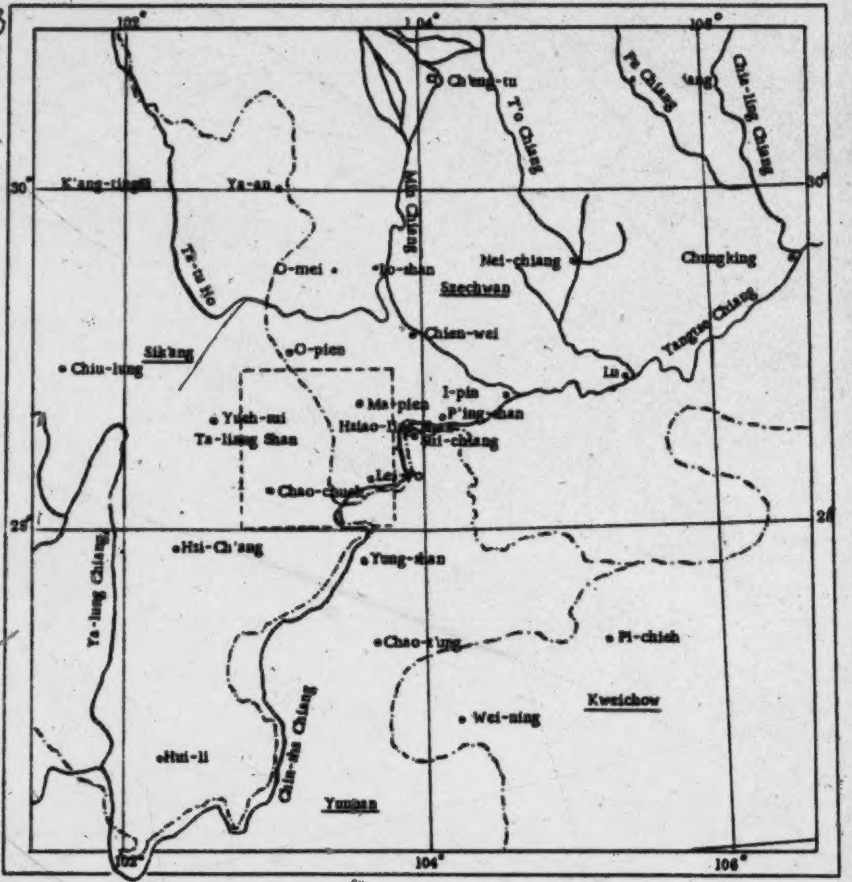
133 Liang Shan is a common frontier of Szechwan, Sikang, and Yunnan provinces. The Ta-liang Shan range, which branches out from the Minya Konka mountain range in Sikang, can be divided into four main branches. The first branch, located in the extreme north, occupies an area between O-pien and Ma-pien counties in Szechwan. In the Lolo region, it is called the Wan-shih P'ing mountain range, which also forms the watershed between the Ta-tu Ho and Ma-pien Ho. The second branch is the main Ta-liang Shan mountain range. Its northern part stretches southward from Huang-mao Kang across Huang-ts'ao P'ing, Yen-feng Shan, and Ta-feng Ting to the southern Huang-mao Kang and ends at Lung-t'ou Shan on the bank of the Chin-sha Chiang. It is the watershed between the Mei-ku Ho and Hsi-su Ho. The third branch covers the Wu-p'ao Lolo area and includes the Wu-p'ao Shan of the Chu-hêh area. It is also the watershed between the Mei-ku Ho and Hsi-ch'i Ho. The fourth branch, the Pa-ch'i mountain range, is located between Chao-chüeh and Ning-nan in Sikang and forms the watershed between the Hsi-ch'i Ho and the Hui-tung Ho. Huang-mao Kang is traditionally considered the dividing line between the Ta-liang Shan and Hsiao-liang Shan. The region from Huang-mao Kang westward to the east side of Hui-tung Ho, in which lies Ta-liang Shan, belongs to Chao-chüeh county. To the east of Huang-mao Kang is Hsiao-liang Shan. This area belongs to Lei-po, Ma-pien, P'ing-shan, and O-pien counties and is commonly called the Lei-Ma-P'ing-O frontier region. It is located in the fifth administrative area of southwestern Szechwan (see Maps 1 and 2).

131
177 Liang Shan has been occupied by the Lolo since ancient times. The Han-Chinese seldom travel in these areas. The headquarters of the Lolo are located in Ta-liang Shan, where they have never come under Han-Chinese influence. Hsiao-liang Shan, on the other hand, is a trading post between the Lolo and the Han-Chinese, who both inhabit the area heterogeneously. In the course of time, the controlling influence there has changed hands from one side to another. Whenever Han-Chinese influence was predominant, the major part of the

102
103
131

MAP 1

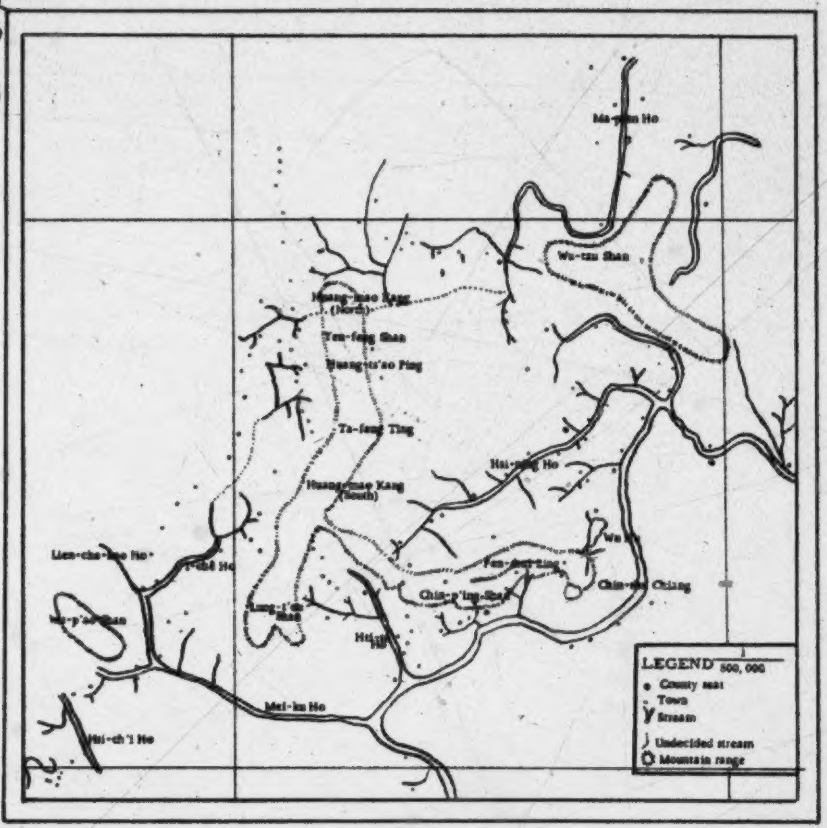
An Outline Map of the Border Regions of Szechwan, Sikang, and Yunnan


102°
104°
106°
30°
28°
Ch'eng-tu
T'o Chiang
Fu Chiang
Chia-ling Chiang
K'ang-ting
Ya-an
Min Chiang
Ta-tu Ho
O-mei
Lo-shan
Nei-chiang
Szechwan
Chungking
Chien-wei
Yangtze Chiang
Sik'ang
O-pien
Chiu-lung
Lu
I-pin
Ma-pien
P'ing-shan
Yueh-sui
Ta-liang Shan
Hsiao-L
Sui-chiang
Lei-po
Chao-chueh
Hsi-Ch'ang
Yung-shan
Ya-lung Chiang
Chao-t'ung
Pi-chieh
Kweichow
Wei-ning
Hui-li
Chin-sha Chiang
Yunnan

MAP 2

Map of Ta-liang Shan and Hsiao-liang Shan

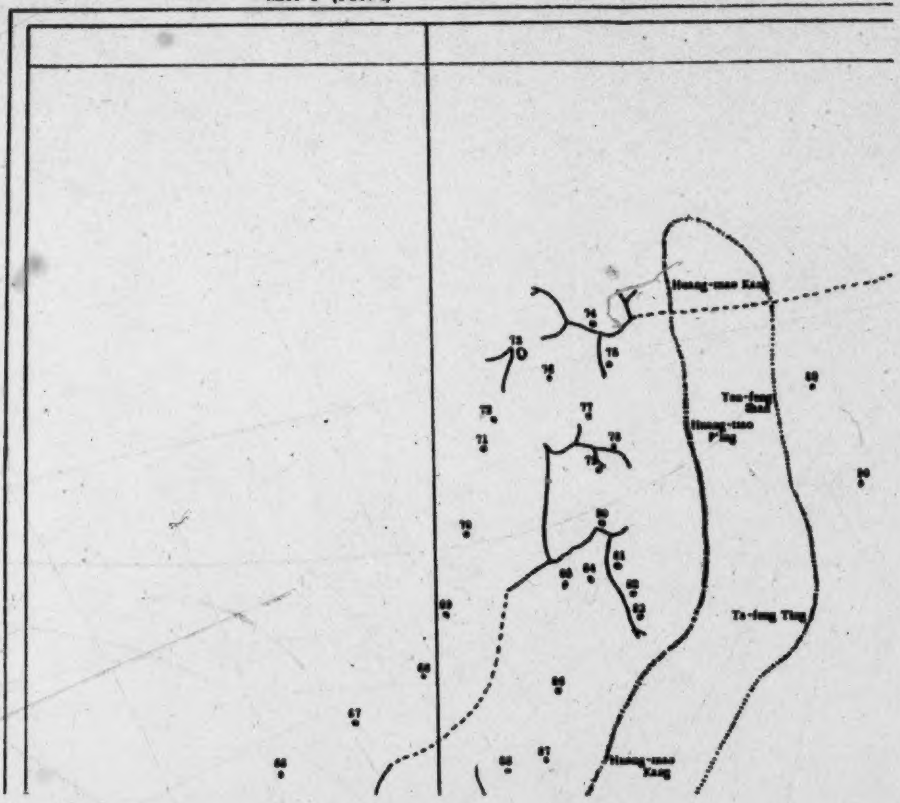
102
103
131
133


Ma-pien Ho
Wu-tzu Shan
Huang-mao Kang
(North)
Yen-feng Shan
Huang-ts'ao Ping
Ta-feng Ting
Hai-tang Ho
Huang-mao Kang
(South)
Wa Ho
Fen-shui Ling
Chin-sha Chiang
Chin-p'ing Shan
Lien-cha-hao Ho
I-chi Ho
Lung-t'ou Shan
Wu-p'ao Shan
Hui-li Ho
Mei-ku Ho
Hsi-ch'i Ho
LEGEND 1/500,000
County seat
Town
Stream
Undecided stream
Mountain range

1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

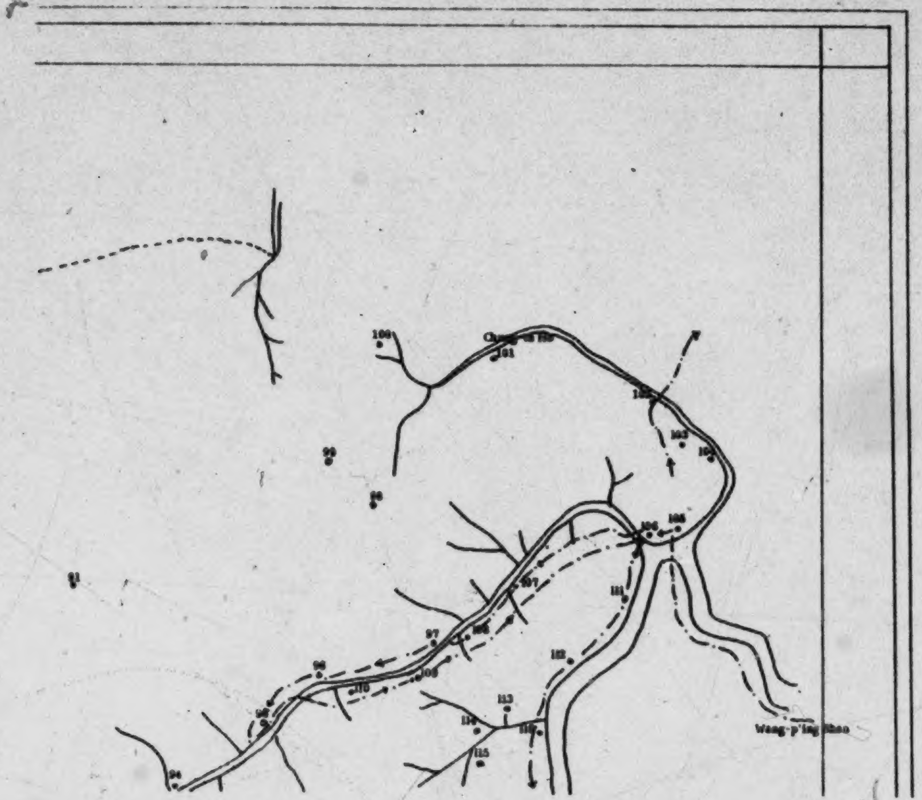
-1c-

MAP 3 (Part 1)


Huang-mao Kang
Tsa-feng Shan
Huang-mao P'ing
Ta-feng Ting
Huang-mao Kang
74
75
77
78
71
67

102
103
131
133

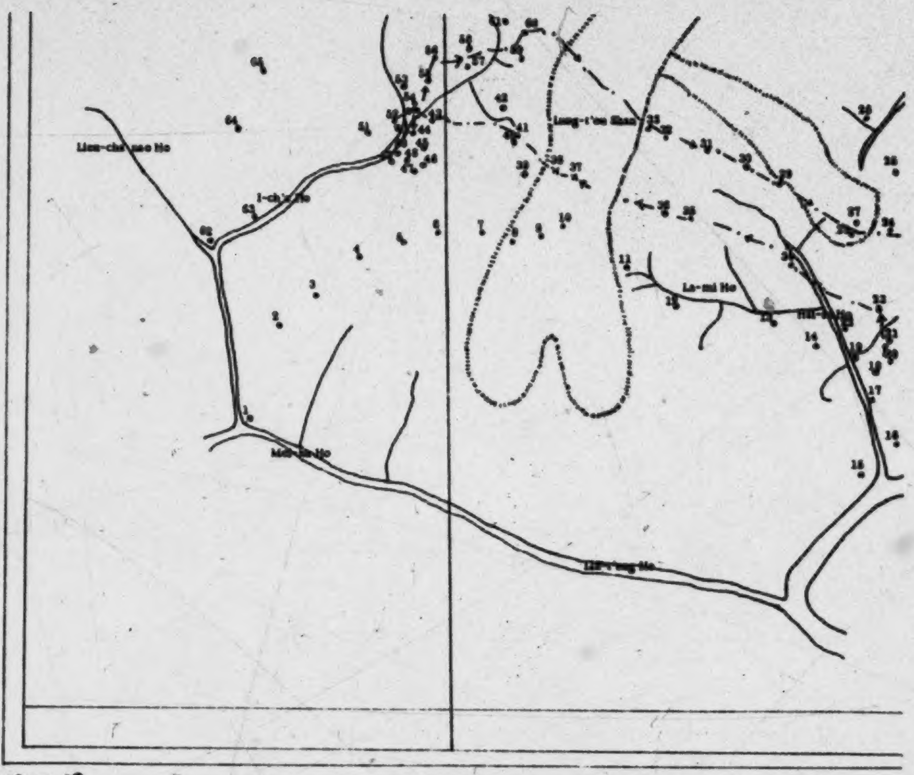
MAP 3 (Part 2)


100
101
102
103
104
99
98
106
105
107
91
111
97
108
112
96
109
110
113
95
114
116
115
94
Wang-p'ing Shao

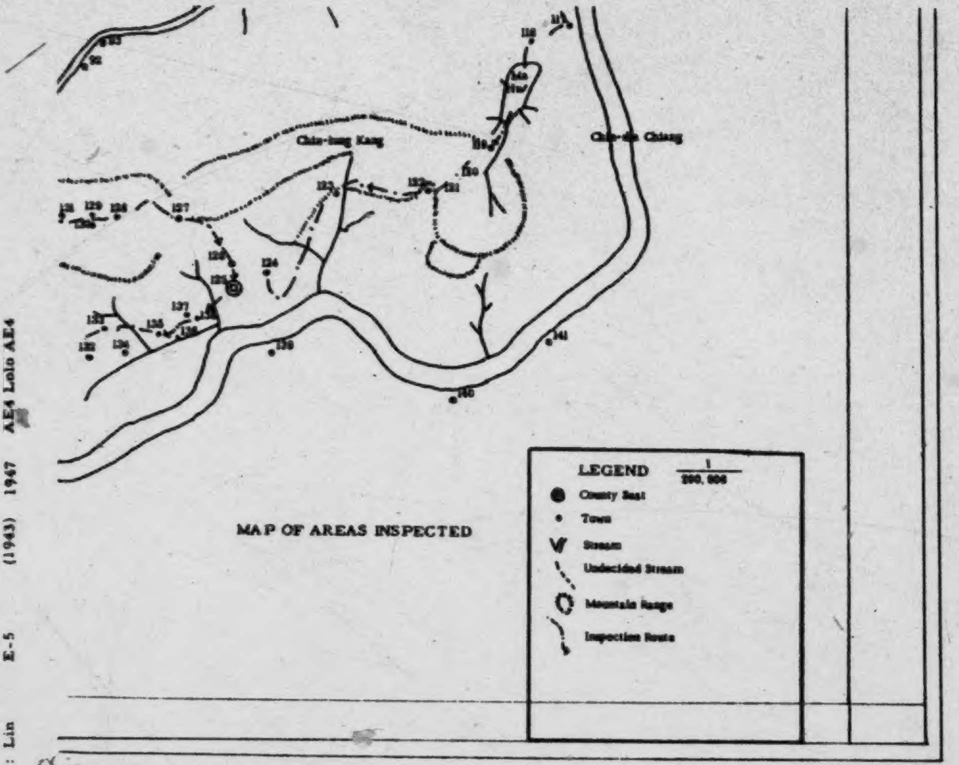
1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

102
103
131
133

102
103
131
133


Lien-cha-nao Ho
I-ch'a Ho
Lung-t'ou Shan
La-mi Ho
Mei-ku Ho
1
2
3
7
10
11
14
16
17
18
37
41
42
64
65

MAP 3 (Part 3)


93
92
118
117
Ma
Chia-lung Kang
Chin-sha Chiang
119
120
121
122
123
124
125
126
127
128
129
133
132
135
136
137
138
139
140
141
LEGEND
1
200,000
County Seat
Town
Stream
Undecided Stream
Mountain Range
Inspection Route

MAP OF AREAS INSPECTED

MAP 3 (Part 4)

102
103
131
133

Map 3

Key to Places

102
103

1. Mei-kù 美姑
2. Kuo-i-ch'u 過一出
3. Yeh-lu-na-ta 耶路那打
4. San-kang 三岡
5. Heh-ch'ih 黑尺
6. Erh-pao 耳堡
7. Sheng-chi 省己
8. Mao-chio 毛角
9. Lo-mi-ni-ch'iu 樂米泥鍬
10. Wa-yen-mu-t'u 窪也木土
11. La-mi 拉米
12. Yang-tzu Ch'iao 羊子橋
13. Kuo-chia-Wan 果腳灣
14. Mu-kou P'o 母狗坡
15. Hsiao-wu-chi 小屋基
16. Ch'ien-wan kuan 千萬貫
17. Hêh--chio 黑角
18. Wu-pao Shan 五寶山
19. Hsi-su Chio 西蘇角
20. La-li Kou 拉里溝
21. Hsiung-chia P'ing 熊家坪
22. Wu-chia Pa 吳家壩
23. Ma-ching-tzu 馬頸子
24. Tso-erh-wo 作兒窩
25. Man-lu K'ou 蠻路口
26. Lan-pa-tzu 濫壩子
27. Shan-leng Kang 山棱岡
28. Lu-chia Chai 盧家寨
29. Yen-ti Pa 岩地壩
30. Yen-ch'ih Pa 岩地壩
31. Chu-hao-wo 竹蒿窩
32. Hsiao-ku Tui 小谷堆
33. Ta-ku Tui 大谷堆
34. Ting-chia P'ing 丁家坪
35. Cho-chiao-na-ta 拙腳那達
36. Ma-ch'ia-ha-lo 馬卡哈落
37. Ying-li-lo-ku 硬裏洛骨
38. Mao-hsi-chü-lieh 毛昔劇烈
39. Ch'iao-tzu-cho-lo 橋子着洛
40. Hsiao-lo-na-ta 消羅那達
41. Hsiao-lo 消羅
42. Erh-hou 兒侯
43. Chih-hu-chê-ko 之乎者各
44. Pa-p'u 巴鋪
45. Nü-hung 女紅
46. Wu-ch'i-ta-ch'i 吳奇塔基
47. A-cho-erh-hou 阿着兒侯
48. Ta-ko-erh-k'o 大哥兒柯
49. Pu-chi-lai-to 補既來托
50. Pu-chi-lai-kuo 補既來鍋
51. Su-chia-chih 蘇甲支
52. I-lu 以魯
53. Ho-ku 河谷
54. San-ho-i-ta 三河以達
55. P'u-ch'ien 蒲千
56. Ku-p'eng 谷蓬
57. P'u-t'ao-i-ta 葡萄以達
58. P'u-t'a-hai-tsê 葡萄海賊
59. P'a-t'o 帕托
60. T'ê-hsi 特喜
61. Szu-tsu-i-ta 斯足以達
62. Niu-niu Pa 牛牛壩
63. Jo-ku-yeh-ta 若谷也打
64. Ch'êng-tzu 城子
65. Wu-erh-kuo 烏兒果
66. Ha-mu-lieh 哈木烈
67. An-ch'ü 按豊
68. Lieh-jih-mi-ti 烈日米的
69. Hung-chi 哄雞
70. Chu-hou-chieh 祝侯捷
71. Chih-wu-chio 知午角
72. Chi-erh-wa-chi 雞耳窪雞
73. Wa-hai 窪海
74. Shih-ch'ieh-lo-ko 十且倮哥
75. Shih-yang-jih-ta 時佯日打
76. Ma-shih-tsu-kan 馬使足敢
77. Li-k'ê-o-mên 力克俄們
78. Szu-i-chi 私乙吉
79. T'ang-po-shu-li-chi 倘白薯力吉
80. Chi-pi-lo-tzu 吉吡倮子
81. En-cha-wa-hsi 恩札瓦西
82. Ta-nan-mên 打南門
83. Po-k'ê-wa-i 白克瓦以
84. Ho-kan 合敢
85. Jih-fu-t'a-ku 日甫他孤
86. Szu-ti-li-chi 斯的力吉
87. San-pu-tsu 三補足
88. Lo-ch'ih 樂尺
89. Yen-feng 煙峯
90. Yu-cha P'ing 油榨坪
91. Ku-niu Pa 牯牛壩
92. K'u-chien-fan 苦薦房

Map 3 — Key to Places (continued)

102
103 93. Chung shan P'ing 中山坪
94. Lo-san Ch'i 羅三溪
95. Hsi-ning 西寧
96. Hu-chia Pao-tzu 胡家堡子
97. Ma-liu T'ang 麻柳塘
98. Ma-nao 瑪瑙
99. Ta-chio Ch'i 大角溪
100. Ting-lan Pa 靛藍壩
101. Ch-iao-pa 蕎壩
102. Chung-tu 中都
103. Chung-ho Chuang 中和莊
104. Tzu-pa 子壩
105. Ping-i 秉彝
106. Shih-chio Ying 石角營
107. Hsia-ch'i 夏溪
108. Szu-li To 撕栗沱
109. Liu-chung Kou 流中溝
110. Sha-t'o 沙沱
111. Ts'un-yao T'an 寸腰灘
112. Mao-shui K'ung 冒水孔
113. Teng-ch'i T'ang 鄧溪塘
114. Man-ch'i K'ou 蠻溪口
115. Shuang-ho K'ou 双河口
116. Ta-yen Tung 大岩洞
117. Sha Wan 沙灣
118. Huang-lang 黃榔
119. Hai-nao Pa 海腦壩
120. Ch'ang-p'u-t'ien 菖蒲田
121. Wu-tzu P'o 五子坡
122. Ch'ing-k'ou 箐口
123. Wen-shui Chên 文水鎮
124. Ma-liu Wan 麻柳灣
125. Lei-po 雷波
126. Chia-chia Shih 夾夾石
127. Wei-kan-tien 危干巔
128. Ta-huo-ti 大火地
129. P'ao-ma P'ing 跑馬坪
130. Sha-tzu-ch'ang 沙子場
131. Yeh-erh-wo 野兒窩
132. San-chi-wo 三雞窩
133. Ma-chia Wan 馬家灣
134. Mo-shih 磨石
135. P'a-ha 扒哈
136. Pao-ch'i 寶琪
137. Shao-shang 哨上
138. Wu-chio 烏角
139. Ching-kuai 井檜
140. Hsi-ch'ien T'an 錫間灘
141. Huang-lung T'an 黃龍灘

131 177 Lolo retreated westward across Huang-mao Kang to Ta-liang Shan. When Han-Chinese influence declined, the Lolo usually seized the opportunity to rebel. They came out of the mountains to disturb the different areas of the Hsiao-liang Shan so that in the Lei-po, Ma-pien, P'ing-shan, and O-pien area there [2] was no peace.

101 131 Actually the Lolo regions are not limited to the Ta-liang and Hsiao-liang Shan. In Sikang there are, besides Chao-chüeh, eight counties of the Ning-nan district and the Chiu-lung county of the K'ang-ting district, in which is also distributed a number of Lolo families. According to reports by vari- [162] ous experts there is a Lolo population of about 600,000 in the ten counties of Sikang. East of the county seats of Yüeh-sui and Chao-chüeh [3] in the Ta-liang Shan area live comparatively pure Lolo clans, which have their own social system and have never been assimilated by Han-Chinese culture.

The region from the Chin-sha Chiang southward within Yunnan is also inhabited by the Lolo. Of the population in Yunnan, nine out of ten who live in the plains are Han-Chinese, while those who live scattered in the high hills and mountain valleys are the un-Sinicized groups. In the area south of K'un-ming and Ta-li, the Pai-i, who are closely connected with the Thai-Shan people, are the main ethnic group. From here northward the un-Sinicized tribes are mainly Lolo or those who have close blood relationship with the Lolo, like the Moso and the Lisu. The Lolo have also moved from K'un-ming and Ta-li southward and eventually extended outside of Yunnan to the Indochina and Burma borders, where their traces are still visible. During 1942 the author stayed in Yunnan for eight or nine months and carefully observed the un-Sinicized people in that province. By checking the reports from different experts, [162] he estimated that the Lolo and related tribes in Yunnan amounted to at least one million.

181 177 However, the Lolo tribes who inhabit Yunnan are somewhat different from those who inhabit Szechwan and Sikang. Because the Lolo in Yunnan intermarry with neighboring nationalities, their physical appearance has changed slightly; cultur- [142] ally, no matter whether it is in material life or in customs and traditions, they are considerably influenced by the Han-Chinese. There are many Lolo who have become so Sinicized that they identify themselves with Han-Chinese and do not want to be called Lolo.

000 After this general picture of the distribution of the Lolo in Szechwan, Sikang, and Yunnan, we can go further to

000 describe the conditions of the Lolo in the Ta-liang and Hsiao-liang Shan area.

133 It has been mentioned before that the main range of Ta-liang Shan is oriented from north to south. On the eastern side of the southernmost mountain range are eight sections of small ridges, which consitute the foothills. These start from Ta-ku Tui in the north and extend southward to the banks of the Chin-sha Chiang, all in an easterly direction, to give Liang Shan the shape of a multiple-legged insect; they all end at the side of the Hsi-su Ho. These eight ridges are commonly known as Pa Sai. The southern section of the Pa Sai faces the river with its steep overhanging cliffs, while its northern section connects with the Lung-t'ou Shan where there are many precipices and ancient forests. During the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties the
175 Chinese emperors made great efforts to develop this frontier
648 area. From 1796 until 1821, Chinese influence gradually reached the eastern part of Huang-mao Kang. In 1838 a rebellion started. The Lolo occupied the Ta-ku Tui and Hsiao-ku Tui, and the Chinese army had to retreat to Shan-Leng Kang, where they constructed a fortress for self-defense. They also established an outpost at Ma-ching-tzu as a support for Shan-Leng Kang. All Han-Chinese who lived in places west of Hsi-su Ho, such as Mu-kou P'o and La-mi, withdrew successively to the east bank of the river, and a Lolo t'u-szu [native chief], or Yang T'u-szu, was established at Ch'ien-wan-kuan [4] to hold together the Lolo in areas both near and distant.

175 At the northern end of Pa Sai the Han-Chinese established
439 a trading post in order to expand their influence westward.
North of Shan-Leng Kang is Lan-pa-tzu and further north is
648 Ku-niu Pa. Both these villages can be reached by climbing the mountains from Hsi-ning on the border of P'ing-shan county. From Huang-ts'ao P'ing eastward in Ma-pien county is Yu-cha P'ing which the Han-Chinese have developed for cultivation. During the period of prosperity in the Ch'ing dynasty a large trading post was established there for trade with the Lolo. Further northward lies the Yen-feng Shan area where there are dangerous precipices, overhanging cliffs, old forests, and barren wilderness inaccessible to the Han-Chinese.

131 The northernmost entrance to Ta-liang Shan is Wa-hai. It is a part of the Ta-liang Shan area and occupies quite a wide territory about several tens of li from east to west. Wa-hai is the only entrance to Ta-liang Shan from Ma-pien and O-pien. The distance from Wa-hai to either county seat is about 200 li.

131 It can be reached from Ma-pien westward across Yüeh-erh Pa and Nan-mu P'ing, and by climbing Huang-mao Kang; or from O-pien southward across Ti-tzu Yai and Szu-li P'ing to Wan-shih P'ing, and by passing through a deep forest. From Wa-hai southward are the central regions of Ta-liang Shan. Therefore Wa-hai is the most important junction on the main communication line.

A little more than 200 li south of Wa-hai is the center of Ta-liang Shan called Niu-niu Pa. It is located in the junction between the I-ch'ê Ho and the Lien-cha-nao Ho as they flow into the Mei-ku Ho. It is a level plain with the big mountains directly behind and water on the other three sides. As the communication center of Liang Shan, Niu-niu Pa leads to Lei-po on the east, Yüeh-sui on the west, Chao-chüeh on the southwest, and Wa-hai on the north. It can also be reached from O-pien and Ma-pien. Because of its precipitous strategic position it is an important place for the conquest of Liang Shan.

In 1909 a Britisher named Donald Burk led his dozen or
175 more followers from Chien-ch'ang for an exploration trip to
648 Liang Shan, but when his team reached Lien-cha-nao, he was killed by the Lolo and his followers were captured and sold as slaves. The incident almost caused a serious Sino-British dispute. At that time the Chinese governor-general of Szechwan, Chao Erh-feng, immediately ordered the government troops stationed in Chien-ch'ang, O-pien, and Ma-pien to attack Liang Shan with Niu-niu Pa as their destination. Actually, what the government troops did was to employ a native pao-t'ou [headman-protector] as their guide to negotiate for their passage through the region. When they reached Lien-cha-nao, they burned several houses and killed several Lolo. Then they returned to the old military post at Chiao-chio where they built a city and established Chao-chüeh county. Chao Erh-feng undertook to make a drastic change in the administration of the Liang Shan Lolo area. He planned to build a thoroughfare between Lei-po and Chien-ch'ang. The section in Chien-ch'ang was already connected with Chao-chüeh across the Mei-ku Ho to reach Yeh-lu-na-ta. The section in Lei-po was only built to the nearby Shan-leng Kang when work was interrupted by Lolo riots. Afterwards the whole road was destroyed completely by the Lolo. In the first year of the Chinese Republic [1912], government soldiers stationed at Chao-chüeh were withdrawn and the Lolo rebelled. [5] In 1919 the city of Chao-chüeh was captured by the Lolo, who plundered, killed, and caused
131 great misery. Today the major part of Chao-chüeh county is

7

131 still in the hands of the Lolo. It remains the main passage for the Lolo in Liang Shan to Sikang province. Even the communication line between Hsi-ch'ang and Chao-chüeh is sometimes under their control.

175 648 Towards the end of the Ch'ing dynasty during the reign of Emperor Kuang-hsü [1875-1907], because of the rebellions of the Lolo who occupied successively all the territories east of Huang-mao Kang, communication lines between the county seats and the towns were disrupted. Nevertheless, during that time the government still had a large number of troops in those areas and held quite a few villages and towns. For example, the area between Huang-lang and Lei-po was still Chinese territory without any disruption in communication. The other villages, such as San-ho K'ou, Yu-cha P'ing, Chung-shan P'ing, Lan-pa-tzu, Shan-leng Kang, Ma-ching-tzu, Hsi-su Chio, Hsiao-wu-chi, and I-tzu Ts'un, all remained in the hands of the Chinese. Although those villages could not be linked together, they still could help each other if something happened. Since the founding of the Republic of China the number of government troops stationed there has decreased and the Lolo have become stronger and more insubordinate. First, the Chinese lost Ch'ang-p'u-t'ien and so the communication line between Lei-po and Huang-lang was interrupted. Then Shan-leng Kang and Ma-ching-tzu were lost so that the western part of the city of Lei-po was threatened. With the loss of Yen-fêng Shan and Yu-cha P'ing, the road from Ma-pien to Ta-liang Shan was disconnected. Furthermore, the Chinese lost San-ho K'ou with the result that the connection between Ma-pien and O'pien was also disrupted. In 1937 the magistrate of Lei-po county, named Lo Mien-nan, was beaten to death by the Lolo at I-tzu Ts'un, but the government took no action against the rioters and since then its influence has further declined. So the Lolo have no fear of the government and have fomented more rebellions and disturbances in the last twenty years.

131 162 The Ta-liang Shan and Hsiao-liang Shan regions described above cover about 900 li from Ma-pien county in the north to Chin-sha Chiang in the south, and about 600 li from Lei-po in the east to Chao-chüeh in the west. The population of this area, according to the author's estimate of the regions he has covered in the trip, includes approximately 200,000 Lolo.

121 Because of time limitations, the field team led by the author could not travel everywhere in Ta-liang and Hsiao-liang Shan; so we could only use the area of our inspection as the basis for research (see Map 3). From I-pin upstream

121 across the Chin-sha Chiang we reached directly Ping-i Ch'ang
(west of Ping-shan), which is on the main road to the south-
western frontier of Szechwan. We did not see any Lolo on this
road. Ping-i Ch'ang was formerly known as Man-i Szu [the
103 barbarians' sub-district], a name which is still used today.
But although the name remains, it has lost its connotation be-
cause this whole area has been occupied by Han-Chinese.
600 Ping-i Ch'ang is located at the river junction between the
Chung-tu Ho and the Chin-sha Chiang. About 3 li upstream
is Shih-chio Ying, where the Hsi-ning Ho enters the Chin-sha
Chiang. Sometimes when the water is high it can be reached
by steamboats, and in ordinary times by wooden boats. It is
the upstream terminus of the Chin-sha Chiang [6]. Therefore,
Ping-i Ch'ang is the key of land and sea communications, the
gateway to the west part of P'ing-shan , and also the main post
from the hinterland to the border area. The city streets are
built along the mountain and supported by large columns stand-
ing on hewn rocks. The floor of these houses is supported by
wooden pillars, which sometimes are several tens of feet high
so that water could not reach the roofs even at flood time.
439 Salt, clothes, and other goods imported from outside are all
unloaded and transported by burden-carriers to frontier areas
for trade with the Lolo. The Lolo use lump silver as their
[436] currency. The silver is weighed by ounces or in ingots, and
can be exchanged at Ping-i Ch'ang. We can see that trade be-
tween the Han-Chinese and Lolo has already assumed great
significance here.

133 Traveling about 50 li from Shih-chio Ying upstream on
the Hsi-ning Ho, one reaches Hsia-ch'i. The Hsi-ning Ho
originates from the eastern flank of Huang-mao Kang and runs
across Lan-pa-tzu, Chung-shan P'ing, and Lo-san Ch'i of Lei-
po county to Hsi-ning on the border of P'ing shan county. The
whole course is more than 100 li. Another 85 li from Hsi-ning
it reaches Hsia-ch'i.

Hsia-ch'i, located on the southern bank of the Hsi-ning
439 Ho, is the largest town along the river with a population of
about 4,000. In the town are stores and restaurants. The
Lolo in both neighboring and far away districts all come here
to trade. Not far away across the river is the boundary of
Ma-pien county. The Lolo in Ma-pien also come here fre-
quently. Further upstream on the Hsi-ning Ho from Hsia-
361 ch'i, all the villages and outposts on both banks of the river
are Han-Chinese, while high up on the mountains are the Lolo.
So this area is inhabited heterogeneously by the Han-Chinese
and Lolo.

000 About 15 li westward from Hsia-ch'i is Szu-li To, a small hamlet of only several tens of households. The district office of P'ing-pien village is located here. The whole district, including Szu-li To, Hsi-ning, and small outposts between these two villages, measures about 70 li from east to west. The second office of the Chung-kuo K'ang-chien K'en-chih Shê is located in Szu-li To. The members of this office are planning to build up Szu-li To as a model village. There is a spring behind it which can be converted with a little bit of engineering help into running water for the village. The purpose of the K'ang-chien K'en-chih Shê is to encourage the cultivators to colonize and develop the border areas. From this village westward are Ma-liu T'ang and Liu-chung Kou, which were formerly wild mountain areas cultivated by the immigrants and are now all bearing corn. Also the members of the same society have begun cultivation westward from Hsi-ning and Lo-san Ch'i and thence southward to Chung-shan P'ing in Lei-po county.

From Szu-li To westward there is only a small, narrow, mountainous passage which is very difficult to traverse. Because of mountain barriers, a person traveling on this road has to wade across the stream, which in the Sha-to area is filled with sand and stones, the water running beneath them. From here to Hu-chia Pao-tzu there are steep precipices and thick forests on both banks. The river itself becomes very narrow and is full of rocks. Therefore it will be difficult to develop the Hsi-ning Ho for navigation. From Hu-chia Pao-tzu to Hsi-ning is more than 10 li. During the Lolo rebellion 175 at the beginning of the Republic period, Hsi-ning was destroyed 648 by fire and Hu-chia Pao-tzu also was attacked by the Lolo several times. Its strong stone walls saved [7] it from destruction, and so today it is the only Han-Chinese village left in the Hsi-ning area; however, it is only inhabited by five or six households.

Hsi-ning is situated on a small level plain in the mountain valley. During a prosperous period in the Ch'ing dynasty it had 2,000 households and was one of the most important key cities in the border area. In the Lolo rebellion of 1920 the whole city was burned down and looted. In recent years 000 different cultivation societies were established here and a new village was erected on the old site, but the houses were built of bamboo and covered with thatch. In the first week of July this year one place in this village caught fire and within two hours the whole village had become ashes. About twenty days

000 later, during my trip to Hsi-ning, newly built thatched houses already stood in rows. Today there are about 100 households with some 600 to 700 persons. There are more males than females because only adventurous young male adults came to these frontier areas.

648 The Hsi-ning Ho turns right from the village to the south side whence it meanders eastward. The plains behind the village are planted with rice. On the top of the high mountains encircling the village can be planted corn, tung trees, tea trees, and others. Only a little farther from this village lies the Lolo territory. Besides K'ang-chien Shê, the Chung-Hsin Kên-shê [Central Colonization Society] and the Hsien-ying Ken-she [County Sponsored Colonization Society] also have offices here. Their members and the cultivators all have guns for self protection. The county government also stations here a cultivation protection squadron which keeps a day and night watch for fear of incidents that might cause conflict between the Han-Chinese and the Lolo in the border regions.

Hsi-ning is situated at the junction of the three counties of Lei-po, Ma-pien, and P'ing-shan. As the center of Hsiao-liang Shan, its position is extremely important. Not far from it lives the fierce En-cha, a branch of the Lolo, who often agitates and rebels. If Hsi-ning should be lost, all the regions east of the river (Hsi-ning Ho) would also be in danger. The city is on a straight line from Ma-pien in the north to Lei-po in the south, but because of the intervening Lolo territory, there is no through traffic and travelers have to make a detour by going back eastward to Shih-chio Ying.

Originally Hsi-ning was a communication center in the Hsiao-liang Shan. Since the Lolo riots, the situation has changed completely. From here north the route to Ma-pien has been discontinued, and wild shrubs and brambles have grown up. From Hsi-ning westward are Ku-niu Pa, Yu-cha P'ing, and Lan-pa-tzu, which lead to the key passes of the Ta-liang Shan. At present, all these are also in the hands of the Lolo, and the Han-Chinese dare not go there, to say nothing of attempting any kind of exploration. Therefore for the development of the Hsiao-liang Shan the first thing is to strengthen Hsi-ning. Eventually the development of Ta-liang Shan will also depend on Hsi-ning as the main base.

000 South of Hsi-ning, because of efforts made by the K'ên-chien Shê, there are quite a number of colonists who have migrated into Lo-san Ch'i and Chung-shan P'ing. From here southward the road reaches Yeh-lu Pa and gradually climbs up

000 steep mountain slopes and into deep forests. The whole area, which is a side branch of the mountain range of Huang-mao Kang as it extends eastward across Ta-ku Tui, originally belonged to Tung-lin Hsiang of Lei-po county. In 1917 [8] the En-
[648] cha Lolo occupied this area, which includes 14 small brooks convenient for irrigation and 18 level plains between the mountain range and the brooks. Since the soil is fertile and water abundant, the region is suitable for different kinds of crops. From Yeh-lu Pa southward across Chiu-lung Kang and Fen-shui Ling, there are many precipitous cliffs and ancient forests for a distance of about 100 li before one reaches Ma-Liu Wan north of Lei-po county.

The distance between Hsi-ning and Lei-po is actually only 140 li, but because of the Lolo area, the traveler has to take a roundabout route from Shih-chio Ying southward along the bank of the Chin-sha Chiang for a distance of 410 li. From Shih-chio Ying the road leads to Mao-shui K'ung, and passing Teng-ch'i T'ang it reaches Ta-yen Tung in Lei-po county. In
[721] Man-chi K'ou, located on the border line between P'ing-shan and Lei-po, Lolo bandits frequently appeared. Many travelers and colonists have been kidnapped here to become Lolo slaves, called "wa-tzu." From Ta-yen Tung westward, the road is only 2 or 3 inches [sic] wide between extremely dangerous precipices, below which the current rushes boldly and makes a loud thunderous noise when struck by stone. On the other bank of the river is the boundary of Yunnan province, marked by long ranges of mountains and dark deep forests. After reaching Sha-wan the traveler has to climb steep slopes for 20 li and soon loses sight of the Chin-sha Chiang. After another 10 li he reaches Huang-lang.

Huang-lang is the first important town on the east side of Lei-po. The district office is located here, and the population is a little over 1,000. The streets are small and narrow.
[721] The old city wall is still strong, and at night the gates are closed to protect the city from attack by the Lolo bandits from regions far and near. Outside the city wall is a large plain, where the soil is fertile and irrigation very convenient. It has about 100,000 mu of first grade land and is the most fertile area in all the valley. About 5 li south of the city is Ma Hu,
311 with an area of about 30 li. The water in the lake is crystal green and clean. The wilds in the surrounding mountains are also green, the whole making a beautiful landscape. The mountain tops on the southeast have been planted with corn by Chinese settlers, while the mountains to the southwest are dotted

311 with Lolo village outposts. On the southern bank of the lake is Hai-nao Pa, also called Ma-hu Ts'un, which now looks desolate with only scattered stones and wild grass after the Lolo riot. Recently a squadron of the Peace Preservation Corps has been stationed near this place, and so the number of residents in the village has increased somewhat.

648 From Hai-nao Pa to Ching-k'ou is a distance of only 60 li, but one has to pass through Fen-shui Ling where the elevation is very high. In the first years of the Republic it fell into Lolo hands. Since then the communication line between Lei-po and Huang-lang has been disrupted, and Lei-po became an isolated city surrounded on all sides by the Lolo. Formerly whenever anyone wanted to pass this mountain peak, he had to hire a Lolo as headman-protector; otherwise he would be robbed, captured, or killed on the way. Now, on every first, fourth, and seventh day of each month of the Chinese lunar calendar, the Peace Preservation Corps stationed here assigns sentries all over the mountain for the protection of communication and travel. An additional column of soldiers is stationed at Wu-tzu P'o for emergencies.

721

The distance from Ching-k'ou to Lei-po by way of Wenshui Chen is 65 li. The entire area consists of fertile valley plains covered with gardens and rice fields. But in the region around Chin-chu Tsui east of Lei-po county, Lolo bandits appeared frequently and kidnapping and the burning of houses [9] happened quite often. Before one reaches Lei-po, the Chin-sha Chiang appears again as it winds across the valleys. On the other side of the river bank, serried mountain ranges and high peaks penetrate to the far horizon where lies the boundary of Yunnan.

Lei-po city is shaped like a spider. It is located on a plain from north to south and gradually slopes downward until after 15 li it reaches the Chin-sha Chiang. It looks like nature's armchair, surrounded on three sides, that is, east, west, and north, by the mountains. Rice fields spread everywhere in the suburbs, and with small ponds for irrigation, the production of rice is quite abundant. It is 1,300 meters above sea level, so even in mid-summer the weather is cool. Because of Lolo riots year after year the people there have been dispersed and many have emigrated. At present the population in the city is less than 10,000. Even in the whole country, it is estimated that there are only about 30,000.

In the eastern and southern parts of the suburbs many households are scattered in the fields. Each household has a

648 fortress at one corner for defense against bandits. The residents
721 are not entirely Han-Chinese. Some Sinicized Lolo, former
subjects of Yang T'u-szu, also live in the area. The people
in the suburbs have no protection whatsoever. The Lolo
bandits usually come at night to rob, kill, and take captives.
People at Nan-t'ien Pa in the southeastern outskirts have suffered
most. During the author's stay at Lei-po every midnight
continuous shooting was heard outside the city walls which signaled
the approach of Lolo bandits. The Lolo strategy is usually
726 to organize a band of a dozen or more persons, who first
hide outside the house; then they fight their way inside, killing
one or two persons; afterwards, they capture all the male and
female members of the family. They gag the mouths of the
captives with grass, wood, or mud to prevent them from shouting.
After plundering, the Lolo bandits descend the slope at
Nan-t'ien Pa and flee northwestward along the Chin-sha Chiang
bank.

The mountain tops surrounding Lei-po are either wild
648 areas or Lolo territory. At Chia-chia Shih, 5 li north of Lei-po,
is stationed a company of government soldiers. Further
up to Chin-p'ing Shan, which is 3,000 meters above sea level,
there are wild grasses and old forests with scarcely any trace
of human habitation. Ma-liu Wan, a mountain valley 15 li northeast
of the city, is on the main northern route to Hsi-ning on
the P'ing-shan border. This area is occupied by the Li-ch'ü
branch of the Lolo tribe and is not open to the Han-Chinese.
[123] During the author's inspection trip to Ma-liu Wan, the team
was led by a headman-protector of the Li-ch'ü branch. As we
left the eastern gate to climb up the mountain, we saw midway
to the peak three rifle-carrying Lolo guarding the pass in front
of the Shan-wang Miao. Had it not been for our headman-protector,
who talked to them, we would not have been able to
press one step forward. Shan-wang Miao is located at the top
of the mountain. Behind the temple there is a mud wall with a
wooden gate. Leaving the pass and going down the valley one
reaches Ma-liu Wan. Three years ago Chinese troops were
stationed in the temple for defense against the Lolo outside the
pass, but now it has become a key frontier pass for the Lolo
tribes.

Fifteen li outside Lei-po city to the west is Wu-chio,
a plain between two mountain valleys, easily discerned from
Lei-po. This [10] place was originally inhabited heterogeneously
[177] by Han-Chinese and Lolo, although most of the Lolo
there had been Sinicized. Three years ago a column of

648 government soldiers was stationed there and a provincial grade
school was established. At present not only have the government
troops been withdrawn, but the school has also been
closed. The few Han-Chinese families in the village are now
under the protection of the Lolo. Wu-chio is an important
487 pass of the Ta-liang Shan, the main thoroughfare to and from
the Han-Chinese and Lolo regions. Those Lolo who come to
Lei-po to trade with the Han-Chinese would use Wu-chio as
their main base.

There are three roads from Lei-po to Huang-mao Kang, all of which start from Wu-chio westward to La-li Kou and then they branch out in three directions. The northern route goes from Chin-p'ing Shan north of Lei-po across Shan-leng Kang and T'ien-chia Wan to Ta-ku Tui and Hsiao-ku Tui, whence it climbs up Huang-mao Kang to reach T'e-hsi in the Ta-liang Shan. The southern road starts from La-li Kou through Mu-kou P'o and Yang-tzu Ch'iao to La-mi, and then crosses Huang-mao Kang from La-mi to reach Sheng-chi. Both the northern and southern routes have been traveled by earlier inspection teams. This time the author purposely took the new center route. It starts from La-li Kou, climbs over Ma-ching-tzu, passes through Ting-chia P'ing, Cho-chiao-na-ta, and Ma-ch'ia-ha-lo, and then penetrates into a deep forest before it crosses Huang-mao Kang from Mao-hsi-chü-lieh. On this road there are about 100 li of wild mountains with no villages or inhabitants. After crossing Huang-mao Kang, the road goes directly to Hsiao-lo in Ta-liang Shan.

Wu-chio has one main street. Most of the inhabitants
361 are white Lolo, who are the wa-tzu [slaves] of the black Lolo
621 of the Hu family. After they have been Sinicized, they are
[177] called pai-hsing [subjects]. Except on the street, the houses
are widely dispersed; the distance from one house to another
is at least about 20 or 30 feet. The whole valley is planted
with rice, and the village is quite a wealthy one. Between the
mountain peaks to the northwest is a small hamlet, called
Shao-shang, which is the household of the chief wife, née Li-ch'ü, of the Hu family head. From here westward villages like
Pao-ch'i and P'a-ha are also under the influence of the Hu
family. Even Mo-shih and San-chi-wo are also inhabited by
households belonging to the Hu family.

About 45 li from Lei-po westward is Ma-chia wan, a small village with only a few thatched houses scattered in the mountain valley. Its inhabitants are the slaves of the A-cho branch, who were also the subjects of the late Yang T'u-szu.

487 From Ma-chia Wan westward the traveler has to ascend a dangerous precipice whose steep slope is very difficult to pass. When the author reached this place, it happened to be raining. The mud path had been trampled by flocks of sheep and so it was especially slippery and dangerous. About 10,000 feet below the slope lay a deep abyss, too dangerous even to look downward. From the precipice the path pierced through an old forest. The headman-protector asked us to stay [379] together because there was danger of being ambushed by some Lolo bandits. Even the Lolo are afraid of being attacked and robbed by Lolo robbers.

361 563 About 15 li west of Ma-chia Wan is La-li Kou, a large village of about 50 households. [11] There is one stream in the mountain valley. Households are dispersed on the slope east of the stream. This village originally belonged to the Han-Chinese. In the Lolo riots at the beginning of the Republic they killed and captured the Han-Chinese and occupied this place. Today there are still six or seven Han-Chinese families with the surnames of Liu and Ts'ai in the village, but they have surrendered themselves to the black Lolo for protection in order to survive. They are the Han-Chinese households farthest west of Lei-po county. Although these few households are under the protection of the black Lolo, they still maintain Chinese customs, wear Chinese costumes, and worship their ancestors. As for those Han-Chinese who live farther west of La-li Kou in the middle of the Liang Shan, they are all captives and slaves and considered by the Lolo as part of their property. They have to wear Lolo costumes and change to Lolo names; they have thus degenerated into Lolo ways of life.

487 La-li Kou is the center of the communications network of the Lolo. All the commodities imported from Lei-po are first deposited here, which serves as a storage post for traders on their way to Liang Shan. Northward the network goes through Shan-leng Kang, then on the northern route up to Huang-mao Kang. Southward it goes to Wu-pao Shan and Heh-chio along the Hsi-su Ho to reach Hsiao-wu-chi; or again toward Ch'ien-wan-kuan along the Chin-sha Chiang and back to Lei-po. Westward it goes to Wu-chia Pa and climbs Mu-kou P'o on the southern route to Liang Shan. Northwestward it passes Ma-ching-tzu on the central route up to Huang-mao Kang. So we can easily see the importance of La-li Kou for communication in this area.

648 It is only 10 li from La-li Kou to Ma-ching-tzu. The place is called Ma-ching-tzu from its mountain ridge which

648 looks like a horse's neck. During the last years of the Ch'ing dynasty, after the fall of Ta-ku Tui and Hsiao-ku Tui, the government built up Shan-leng Kang and Ma-ching-tzu as military outposts, with a city wall encircling the horse-neck ridge. Now all has been destroyed except a couple of feet of the walls. At that time the government made an agreement with the Lolo to use the Hsi-su Ho as a boundary line. In the Chinese territory east of the river a large number of government soldiers was stationed. Not only could Shan-leng Kang and Ma-ching-tzu help each other like the two horns of a sheep, but also a t'u-szu office was established in Ch'ien-wan-kuan in the south. Whenever the village of Heh-chio on the east bank of the Hsi-su Ho was invaded by the Lolo, the government would usually dispatch troops from Wu-pao Shan to help. The Chinese folk song of this area says:

> Nature built Ma-ching-tzu;
> Iron made Shan-leng Kang:
> When woe befalls Heh-chio,
> Wu-pao Shan helps it out.

We can see that during that time Chinese military strength was still strong enough to hold the territory along the eastern bank of the river.

481 361 Although Ma-ching-tzu overlooks Huang-mao Kang in the west, there is still a distance of two days' travel on foot. From here down the slope, the road passes the territory of the black Lolo of the Pu-chi branch, where three or five small villages dot the mountain valley. Then after crossing the mountains several times for about 60 li, it reaches Ting-chia P'ing, a village inhabited heterogeneously by black and white Lolo. Further west in the Ch'ang-ho Pien area, the traveler frequently has to c[illegible]mall ditches and shallow streams, which are branch[illegible] upper Hsi-su Ho. Cho-chiao-na-ta is a village with h[illegible]persed on both sides of the stream. The houses are supp[illegible] on wooden pillars and have thatched roofs. The life of the people there is very hard. Ma-ch'ia-ha-lo has only three to five households. From here eastward to Ting-chia P'ing is about [12] 70 li.

136 West of Ma-ch'ia-ha-lo are cliffs and precipices, wilds and forests. The air in the forest is dark and dismal, the sun scarcely peeping through. On the ground there are many leeches, which bite and suck human blood. When we passed this way, we saw snakes and scorpions frequently. According

136 to the headman-protector, there were also plenty of tigers and leopards. The author and his company slept one night in an old forest, called Ying-li-lo-ku. Even though we had a campfire during the night, we still felt the bitter cold.

133 In Mao-hsi-chü-lieh area there are some old, deep forests. After passing through them one climbs up to the top of [491] Huang-mao Kang, where the pathway suddenly becomes wide and level, broad enough for an automobile. The top of the mountain is about 3,500 meters above sea level. No trees grow there, but only small grasses which rise and fall with the autumn wind. So the place is called Huang-mao Kang [Yellow Grass Ridge]. West of the ridge, the mountains and streams are bright and beautiful, the farms and fields fresh and green. If one looks toward the far horizon, there is no dividing line between heaven and earth. The whole scene is like the "peach-blossom village," completely secluded from the outside world. Looking back to the east, one sees a different world with mountain precipice and deep chasms in disorderly rows, and old trees and deep grasses, all dark and gloomy.

Westward below the ridge, there are the villages of 361 Ch'iao-tzu-cho-lo on the left slope and Hsiao-lo-na-ta on the 621 right slope, the two just opposite each other. They both belong to the black Lolo of the Wu-ch'i branch. The villages in Ta-liang Shan are also widely dispersed, the houses being about several tens of feet apart. [342] Each house has a mud wall and a wooden ceiling, and is well built. Hsiao-lo-na-ta is about 100 li east of Ma-ch'ia-ha-lo; there is not a single household between these two villages. From here westward about 10 li is Erh-hou village, which also belongs to the Wu-ch'i branch. The whole village is built on a plain from the top of the slope downward to the bank of the stream. In the village [342] stands a modern-style house with white walls, a tiled roof, and a wooden door in the front, painted in red and also carved. It looks like a palace in the wild mountains.

Crossing the stream and walking along the river bank for about 50 li, one reaches Chih-hu-chê-ko village in the territory of the A-cho branch. Inside the village there is a natural pool encircled by big upright white poplar trees. It looks very beautiful and quiet. On the right side of the village is a small ridge, on which one can look down northward at the San-ho-i-chê stream that comes from Erh-hou village. This stream runs into the San-ho-i-mu river, which the Chinese call the I-ch'ê Ho. It forms a three-pronged river junction, like the mouth of the three rivers in I-ping, but here the water is very

36+ shallow. On the eastern slope of the river junction is San-ho-i-ta village. About 10 li from this ridge is a small level plain
621 right on the slope of the southern bank of the I-ch'ê Ho, where the village of Pa-p'u is located. On the slope of the northern bank of the I-ch'ê Ho is the village I-lu, in which live the white Lolo slaves of the Li-ch'ü branch. The three villages of San-ho-i-ta, Pa-p'u, and I-lu stand at the river junction like the three legs of a tripod. They all belong to the territory of the Li-ch'ü branch.

From Pa-p'u southward one climbs the mountains to reach Nü-hung, a village in the territory of the A-cho branch. Across the ridge from Nü-hung is Ta-ch'i [13] in the territory of the Wu-ch'i branch, hence also called Wu-ch'i-ta-ch'i. On the western ridge of Tai-ch'i is A-cho-erh-p'u; below the ridge is Ta-ko-erh-k'o, where live the white Lolo of the Ch'ê-pi branch, who are the slaves of the Wu-ch'i branch. From Ta-ko-erh-k'o northwestward and down the slope there are two level plains: the upper plain in the west is Pu-chi-lai-to village, and the lower plain in the east is Pu-chi-lai-kuo village. These level plains are both located on the slope of the southern bank of the I-ch'ê Ho, a little more than 10 li across the ditch from the west side of Pa-p'u.

From I-lu village across the I-ch'ê Ho westward is a small village belonging to the white Lolo of the Su-chia branch. Further westward the road is cut off by tall mountain peaks. This area is said to belong to the black Lolo of the A-hou branch, the A-hou being a subbranch of the Lolo in the Chao-chüeh area.

About 10 li from San-ho-i-ta northward upstream along the I-ch'ê Ho is Ho-ku, a village of the A-cho branch. From here northeastward upstream along the San-ho-i-ch'ê is P'u-ch'ien village, which also belongs to the A-cho branch. Further up is P'u-t'ao-i-ta village of the white Lolo of the Ch'ê-pi branch. At the back of San-ho-i-ta village are big mountains. Looking down from the mountain tops, one sees small villages on all sides, so near and distinct that they can be counted by number. There are many tall precipices in the north; on the southeast is the village of Ta-ch'i, behind which lies Huang-mao Kang; from the southeast one can see at a distance the lower reaches of the I-ch'ê Ho, where the mountain villages appear indistinctly in the clouds.

361 The San-ho-i-ta area is the most prosperous region in-
361 side Ta-liang Shan; it is also the center of communications.
481 From here westward about 100 li is Niu-niu Pa. It is a very
133 important pass, but it is much less populated than San-ho-i-ta.

361 The I-ch'ê Ho flows downward from San-ho-i-ta to Niu-niu Pa,
487 whence it converges with the Lien-cha-nao Ho to empty into the
133 Mei-ku Ho. The latter runs southeast into the Liu-t'ung Ho, and thence eastward into the Chin-sha Chiang. The entire branch forms the main river system in Ta-liang Shan. The I-ch'ê Ho is said to have originated from the eastern flank of the mountains of Chi-erh-wa-chi south of Wa-hai, but so far it has not been proved by exploration. The eastern route from San-ho-i-ta northward to Wu-hai passes through Szu-tsu-i-ta and En-cha-wa-hsi, the entire distance being about 260 li. The western route starts from Jo-ku-yeh-ta east of Niu-niu Pa, and then goes northward to Wu-hai across Wu-erh-kuo, Hung-chi, and Chi-erh-wa-chi. The distance is about the same as the eastern route. As mentioned before, there are three routes from San-ho-i-ta eastward to Lei-po, the middle route being about 360 li. The road to Chao-chüeh starts southward from Pa-p'u and Nü-hung across the mountains; after leaving them it first goes eastward to Sheng-chi and then westward to Yeh-lu-na-ta. It is about 145 li from Yeh-lu-na-ta to Chao-chüeh. Therefore it is estimated that the entire distance from Chao-chüeh to San-ho-i-ta is not more than 250 li.

121 The author stayed at the San-ho-i-ta area for some time to make various kinds of investigations. Originally we planned to go from Sheng-chi [14] through La-mi to Lei-po, but because of a dispute among the headmen-protectors we finally decided to take the northern route back to Lei-po.

361 Going northeastward for 15 li from San-ho-i-ta, one
621 reaches Pu-ch'ien. Only a short distance up the slope from P'u-ch'ien is Ku-p'eng, a village inhabited heterogeneously by the black Lolo of the Li-ch'ü and Ên-cha branches and the white Lolo of the Ch'ê-pi branch. Another 30 li from here lies P'u-t'ao-i-ta. Up the slope is another village, P'u-t'ao-hai-tsê, of the Ên-cha branch. Thirty li east of P'i-t'ao-i-ta is T'ê-hsi, also translated in the Chinese as T'ien-hsi. It is the nearest village outside the mountains on the northern route to Huang-mao Kang. South of T'ê-hsi lies P'a-t'o; north of T'ê-hsi, Szu-tsu-i-ta. These villages which are linked with Ên-cha-wa-hsi about 100 li further north all belong to the territory of the Ên-cha branch.

487 From Tê-hsi eastward across Huang-mao Kang lies a
361 broad main road. After crossing Huang-mao Kang it goes downward through an old forest to Ta-ku Tui, about 60 li from T'ê-hsi. Ta-ku Tui is a level plain in the valley, about 10 li from east to west. It is a very fertile plain suitable for

487 361 agricultural cultivation. Beside it flows a streamlet which can be used for irrigation. When Chinese influence was still strong in this area, there was some kind of agricultural activity, but today it is only a wild deserted plain without any cultivation. From here eastward about 10 li is Hsiao-ku Tui; at another 20 li is Chu-hao-wo; 30 li further is Yen-ch'ih Pa. From Yen-ch'ih Pa eastward about 10 li is T'ien-chia Wan, a comparatively large village in this area. All the villages east [177] of Huang-mao Kang were formerly the territories of the Sinicized Lolo, who have Han-Chinese surnames and who were the subjects of the late Yang T'u-szu.

648 About 40 li eastward from T'ien-chia Wan is Shan-leng Kang. Originally a Chinese city, it was destroyed in 1919 during the Lolo rebellion. Today all that is left is a leng [angular]-shaped city wall overgrown with wild grass. Inside the city, a piece of red mud wall can still be vaguely discerned. On the slope below the city is Lu-chia Chai, where the houses are dispersed in the valley.

487 From Shan-leng Kang the road leads southward to Ma-ching-tzu and La-li Kou, and northward to Lan-pa-tzu. The northern route is quite level, and with Lolo headmen-protectors as guards, it is possible to get to Chung-shan P'ing by way of Lan-pa-tzu and K'u-chien-fan. The route from Chung-shan P'ing northward to Lo-san Ch'i and Hsi-ning is under the influence of Chung-kuo K'ang-chien K'ên-chih Shê and can be traveled without any trouble. If we develop Hsi-ning, then we can have at least one broad thoroughfare from Lan-pa-tzu and Shan-leng Kang westward to Ta-liang Shan.

Shan-leng Kang is about 90 li east of Lei-po. Before 1919 there was a main road between them, which was also a part of the thoroughfare between Lei-po and Chien-ch'ang, but since the Lolo riots in the last twenty years no one has traveled on this road, now deserted, overgrown with weeds, and hardly recognizable. In the villages of Tso-erh-wo, Kuei-ma P'ing, and Ta-huo Ti, there are still a few scattered households. Eastward up the slope from Ta-huo Ti is a wild old forest which is very difficult to traverse. From the former site of Wei-kan-tien on the top of the mountain there is still [15] a huge millstone from the early days. The elevation on the mountain top is about the same as that of Huang-mao Kang, but the weather here is much colder. When the author crossed the mountains, there was a big storm and wild wind, and the old carrier we hired was almost frozen to death. Going down the slope from Chin-p'ing Shan, as we looked southward

487 across the river at Ching-kuai in Yunnan, towns and villages appeared distinctly before our eyes. We did not get out of the deep forest before we reached Chia-chia Shih and by that time we were already on the back of the mountains around Lei-po.

[16] CHAPTER 2

THE CLAN

614 619 In the Lolo community in Liang Shan, the clan is the most extensive organization. For the purpose of resisting outside invaders, interclan relationship takes the form of a confederation, somewhat like a tribal organization. But after the crisis is over, each clan returns to its separate ways and takes care of its own affairs independently. There is no permanent organization above the clan.

614 [184] The Lolo clan is divided into main and auxiliary branches. The clan organization to be discussed here is that of the black Lolo since the white Lolo are subject to the black masters and do not have a clan system of their own. The main branches of the black Lolo are En-cha, A-cho, A-lo, A-su, A-hou, and Su-ko. Of these the En-cha is the most populous as well as the most important branch in the Lei-po, Ma-pien, P'ing-shan, and O-pien region.

613 The En-cha branch is the general name for the twelve Kan P'u-t'ien branches, comprising the Kan clan and the P'u-t'ien clan. The Kan clan, located in the north, extends into the O-pien county and is subdivided into several auxiliary branches. The P'-u-t'ien clan is further divided into eleven auxiliary branches: Hou-p'u, Li-o, Shih-t'u, Li-pieh, Keng-erh, Shui-lu, Li-t'u, A-chih, Wu-p'ao, Shê-p'i, and Nuan-o. The first five branches, known as the five lower branches, are distributed in the area around Hsi-ning on the P'ing-shan border and extend into Lei-po county. They have numerous minor branches and are considered fierce and warlike. Besides these five lower branches, the other six branches populate mainly the territory of Ma-pien county. Of all the twelve branches, Hou-p'u is the strongest and its sphere of influence covers a wide area in the three counties of Lei-po, Ma-pien, and P'ing-shan.

The En-cha branch, that is, the twelve Kan-P'u-t'ien branches of the Lei-Ma-P'ing-O area, also extends into the Ta-liang Shan region. Instead of acting as a barrier to the different branches, Huang-mao Kang serves as the point of contact and gathering place for them. In view of their rapid growth, complicated interrelationship, and constant seizure of each other's territory, there can be no definite boundary for the different branches.

*[Errata. Should be black Lolo — Analyst]

614 Next to the En-cha are the A-cho and A-lo branches.
631 These are the most important branches between Lei-po and
Chao-chüeh. The ancestors of the A-cho branch once submitted to Chinese rule in the fourth year of the Ming emperor
Hung-wu (1371) and were given the official position of t'u-szu
[native chief] and the Chinese name Yang as their family name.
They were known to the people in the frontier regions as Yang
T'u-szu. During the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, in order to
control the Lolo people in these regions, the t'u-szu system,
which was hereditary, was established by the government. In
the 43rd year of the Ch'ing emperor K'ang-hsi (1704), the t'u-szu [17] office was set up at Ch'ien-wan-kuan with all the
present Kan P'u-t'ien, A-cho, and A-lo branches, as well as
the nine Sinicized Lolo branches in the Lei-po area under its
jurisdiction. Whenever rebellions broke out among the Lolo,
the government would ask the t'u-szu to pacify them. So the
t'u-szu performed an important function for the government.
Towards the end of the Ch'ing dynasty, the t'u-szu moved his
headquarters to Wang-shen P'o below Ta-ch'i Shan outside the
north gate of Lei-po. In the early years of the Republic (1910's)
the headquarters was moved back inside the city. In 1927, the
incumbent Yang T'u-szu died without any male heir and was
survived only by a daughter, Tai-t i. She is now twenty-two.
All the Lolo still respect her a great deal, but the former
family prestige and influence are gone. The A-lo branch is
613 divided into four auxiliary branches called Wu-ch'i, Pu-chi,
Li-ch'ü, and Mo-shih. They extend from Lei-po westward to
the center of the Ta-liang Shan and Mei-ku Ho area and further
westward to Chu-heh. In all these regions the influence of the
A-lo branch still prevails.

A-su, a small branch between Lei-po and Chao-chüeh,
[614] has an independent clan system. Besides those mentioned
613 above, there are nine Sinicized Lolo families in the Lei-po
177 area. These are former members of the Kan P'u-t'ien, A-cho,
and A-lo branches who have surrendered to the Chinese government and have been given Chinese family names. The Chinese
in this area call them the nine inner branches to distinguish
them from the un-Sinicized Lolo of the A-cho and A-lo branches
and the five lower Kan P'u-t'ien branches. The nine inner
branches include the following families: Ting, Lu, Chu, Hu,
Han, Hsu, Ma, Su, and An. These nine families are distributed
in an area between Lei-po and Huang-mao Kang, also northward to Ta-ku Tui, Hsiao-ku Tui, and Lan-pa-tzu, and southward across the Chin-sha Chiang to Yunnan province.

614 The A-hou and Su-ko branches are both in the Chao-chüeh area in Sikang. A-hou, Su-ko, A-lo, and Ma are the big clans in Chao-chüeh. Although their subbranches are not as numerous as the Lolo branches in Lei-po area, they are very populous and influential and have succeeded in taking over the entire Chao-chüeh county.

After this brief sketch of the Lolo branches in Ta-liang Shan and Hsiao-liang Shan, we can now proceed to investigate the Lolo clan organization. The so-called clan includes all members descended through the paternal lineage. Originally the Lolo did not have any clan name. All kinship members closed ranks under a common ancestor, who gave his name to the branch. This is the way the Li-ch'ü and the Wu-ch'i branches derived their names. Since all the clan members have a common ancestor, even though they are dispersed in different localities they still treat each other as kinsmen. Whenever they meet, they greet each other according to their generation rank. Also they regulate their duties and responsibilities according to their kinship relations.

614
361 Lolo clan members live together in a village, but the arrangement of the households in their village is quite different from that in a Han-Chinese village. Their houses do not adjoin each other, but are dispersed on slopes or plains. [18] The distance from one household to another ranges from 20 or 30 feet to several hundred. In each village, the number of households varies from only a few to some 40 or 50. The area of each clan usually includes several villages, some of which are quite close together, only a few li to 20 or more li apart. For example, the Li-ch'ü branch is located on a three-pronged river junction, where the San-ho-i-chê stream flows into the I-ch'ê Ho. Standing on the three slopes are the three villages of San-ho-i-ta, Pa-p'u, and I-lu, all of which belong to the Li-ch'ü clan. In Ta-liang Shan, villages such as Li-ch'ü-na-ta, Mi-lo, Li-ch'ü-wa-shih, Pa-ch'i-lo, and others are also populated by members of the Li-ch'ü branch. Sometimes the members of one clan become widely scattered after they move away from the clan village. To take the Li-ch'ü branch as an example, it is not only distributed in different places in Ta-liang Shan, but also widespread in the Pa-chai area east of Huang-mao Kang, as well as in Lan-pa-tzu, T'ien-chia Wan, Ma-ching-tzu, La-li Kou, Wu-kuan-chai-tzu, Ma-liu Wan, and other places.

614
621 After members of the clan branch have moved to other places, they usually do not maintain much contact with one

614 another unless there is a special occasion. The main social
621 group, therefore, is the clan village, which constitute a unit of close relationship. The clan village is based on two factors: (1) blood kinship, all clan members being the descendants of a common paternal ancestor; (2) geographical area, the village being the basis of the living conditions of the people. In other words, the clan village is a combination of two important elements: blood relationship and geographical relationship. Later when we come to discuss the subject of clan feuds, we shall see more clearly the importance of the clan village. The target of a clan feud is often the enemy village, and to attack it is to satisfy the desires for plundering, killing, and kidnapping. For this reason, the cohesive force of a clan village is especially strong in its aim to preserve the dignity of the clan and to protect from enemy invasion the land inherited from clan ancestors. ....

621 The cohesion of a clan village usually relies on the political organization within the clan, the leadership of the village head, and other factors. Strangely enough, the Lolo not only have no modern political organization, but also no definite pattern of leadership. They are unlike the natives of Australia where the eldest member of the clan holds political power. They are also unlike the Chinese clans of Fukien and Kwangtung where the oldest man of the oldest generation becomes the clan chief. Leadership of a Lolo clan depends completely upon
614 the individual's ability. All the members of the clan would auto-
622 matically submit to a man noted for his success in fighting in
555 the clan feud and for efficiency in managing clan affairs. This person [19] must have the courage to fight for justice and to take into his own hands the administration of clan affairs. Whenever something happens in the village, he assembles all the clan members and issues orders. In this way he gradually assumes the position of leadership. For instance, the leader of San-ho-i-ta village was formerly Li-ch'ü Chih-t'ieh, who in 1940 was employed as pao-t'ou [headman-protector] by the Education Commission of the Szechwan Provincial Government. The word pao-t'ou is used by the frontier people to denote a black Lolo leader. Anyone who is strong enough to protect other members of the clan and their wa-tzu [slaves] and property automatically becomes a pao-t'ou. So the Han-Chinese who come to a black Lolo for protection also call him pao-t'ou. Chih-t'ieh, the most influential black Lolo in San-ho-i-ta village, was called ying tu-tu by the natives. This is a Lolo term for a very influential and powerful man, and the greater his

614 power is, the more ying [strong, lit., hard or tough] he be-
622 comes. So anyone who is powerful enough to be pao-t'ou is
555 ying tu-tu. Chih-t'ieh died a few years ago. Following his
death, his power and influence came to an end. The position of
leadership is achieved by a Lolo through his own individual ac-
complishments. It remains with him during his lifetime, but
is not hereditary.

After Chih-t'ieh's death, his successor was not his own
son, but his cousin, named Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, who was descended
from the same paternal great-grandfather. Ta-chi, now thirty-
five years old, is a capable and competent black Lolo. When the
159 author made this investigation trip to Ta-liang Shan and Hsiao-
555 liang Shan, Ta-chi was employed as pao-t'ou for the team. Ta-
chi's father, Ch'uan-erh, was a pao-t'ou around the Ma-ching-tz
area. In the rebellion of 1919, he was one of the chief instigator
After the riot he returned to his native village of San-ho-i-ta and
died there of sickness afterwards. During that time Ta-chi, who
was only eleven years old, was left a poor lonely orphan with no
one to support him. After more than ten years of hard struggle,
he finally managed to get ahead, later married, and had children.
Gradually he has accumulated some savings and is now con-
sidered a wealthy man in San-ho-i-ta. Ta-chi has two younger
sisters. The elder one was married to Hu Hsing-min who
lived in Wu-chio west of Lei-po. Five or six years ago, Hu
Hsing-min died and was survived by his wife and two young
daughters. In order to help his sister manage her household
[593] affairs, Ta-chi often traveled back and forth between Lei-po
and Ta-liang Shan. Having had more contact with the Han-
[177] Chinese and learned more about things in the outside world than
the others, he is one of the comparatively enlightened black
Lolo in Liang Shan. Because of his popularity, Ta-chi soon
became the leader of the Li-ch'ü branch of San-ho-i-ta to suc-
ceed Chih-t'ieh. This time when Ta-chi led the author and his
inspection team to the mountain region, it was his first assign-
ment as headman-protector of the Han-Chinese traveling in
Liang Shan. For this trip he was branded a Han-Chinese by
[609] two of his clan uncles in the village. Lolo [20] hostility towards
outsiders can readily be seen from this instance.

622 Ma-liu Wan in Hsiao-liang Shan is also a Li-ch'ü vil-
614 lage. Its chief, Li-ch'ü Pieh-t'u, was formerly a well-known
rebellious Lolo, but in his old age he changed his attitude by
submitting to government rule and living quietly as the head-
682 man in Ma-liu Wan. Pieh-t'u had a son who was intelligent
614 and smart. Once he was playing with pistols with Ta-i, Pieh-
555 t'u's clan nephew, in front of Shan-wang Miao and was

682 accidentally shot to death by Ta-i. According to Lolo custom,
614 a clan member who kills another has to pay with his life. So
555 Pieh-t'u killed a cow to entertain all the clan members who
agreed to Ta-i's death. Ta-i tried to commit suicide by taking
[762] poison, but it failed to kill him. Soon afterwards, Pieh-t'u
suddenly died, and Ta-i was spared his life as no one really
wanted to force him to die. In July this year, a small group
614 of soldiers stationed at Lei-po came to Ma-liu Wan to cut wood
555 for fuel, but the Lolo thought that the soldiers came to search
721 for opium because the village is an important opium trading
[439] post between the Han-Chinese and Lolo. As a result of this
misunderstanding, members of the Li-ch'ü branch took up arms
under Ta-i's leadership to defend themselves from the soldiers
and a conflict ensued. Since then the Lolo in Ma-liu Wan village
have been hostile to the soldiers, and there have been several
skirmishes in which Ta-i was always the leader. He,
too, has managed to settle clan affairs and has undertaken negotiations
with the Han-Chinese. Thus he is ascending very
rapidly to the leadership of the Li-ch'ü branch in Ma-liu Wan.
It is evident that the Lolo position of leadership depends entirely
upon the individual's personal competence, especially
his ability to assemble all the clan members and to issue orders
for combat, immediately after which he will be recognized
by the public as their leader and protector.

614 Although they are dispersed in distant villages, members
of the same branch still recognize their clan relationship
and maintain friendly intercourse. There can be no feud among
members of the same clan as feuds are fought only between
[628] different clans. The author's trip to Ma-liu Wan was
just about at the time when Li-ch'ü Ta-i had these feuds with
the Han-Chinese soldiers and people. So the author was advised
to be cautious. But our Lolo headman-protector, Li-ch'ü
Ta-chi, assured us that there would be no danger as he
was related to Ta-i as younger uncle (1) in the same branch of
the clan, and both being well-known black Lolo leaders, they
574 would respect each other's "face." As expected, when we
arrived at Shan-wang Miao, the three white Lolo who guarded

---

1. Ed., lit., "father's younger brother," which refers to a person of the father's generation who is "younger," by kinship reckoning, than the father, but is not necessarily a blood brother of the father himself.

514 the pass immediately relayed the news outside the pass. Within a short time Ta-i came to greet us with a group of more than ten white Lolo slaves in an impressive procession. He brought
[431] with him two roosters as a present for a feast and told the interpreter to give us his humble regards. I was surprised that the same Ta-i who had been described to me by the Han-Chinese of Lei-po as fierce and cruel should turn out to be so subdued and polite in our presence. It is obvious that people act differently under different circumstances. No matter whether one is a Lolo or a Han-Chinese, he acts kindly or unkindly depending upon whether he considers the other [21] a friend or enemy.

614 Leadership in the clan village is secured through per-
622 sonal ability, but it also depends upon the amount of support
554 one gets from members of the clan. Generally there are only
564 very few black Lolo in the village, the white Lolo being the majority. The relationship between the two groups will be discussed in Chapter 7, "Class." It suffices to state here that the black Lolo constitute the ruling class and the white Lolo the subject class, and that the class distinction which comes from birth should not be confused or neglected. In Lolo socie-
[567] ty, a black Lolo considers as slaves not only the white Lolo in his clan, but also those outside the clan. Similarly, a white Lolo, besides serving his own black Lolo master, has to serve any other black Lolo. On the other hand, as white Lolo families far outnumber black Lolo families, even though they recognize all black Lolo as masters, they have considerable influence in the determination of black Lolo leadership. Because of their number, their opinion becomes public opinion.

159 In the region beyond Wu-chio about some 15 li west of
614 Lei-po is located the village of the Sinicized Hu clan. When
622 Hu Hsing-min was young, his granduncle [father's father's
[597] younger brother; see footnote, p. 25] had no children, and so his grandaunt of the Wu-p'ao family adopted her elder sister's son, A-cho T'ieh-mu, and brought him up in the family. After the death of the granduncle, the grandaunt of the Wu-p'ao family intended to make T'ieh-mu an heir to take charge of the Hu village and to manage family properties. T'ieh-mu was quite smart and capable, but the white Lolo refused to obey him; following the Lolo custom, they all rose to support Hsing-min as their leader and succeeded in driving T'ieh-mu out of
159 the village. When Kuo Shun-chih of the Lei-po county was in
622 charge of the government military training camp, Hu Hsing-
557 min enlisted and became thoroughly Sinicized. He was friend-
177 ly toward the Han-Chinese and contributed a great deal in the

159 attempt to open up communications between Lei-po and Huang-mao
622 Kang. He used all means to make friends with the Lolo of
567 the En-cha branch to expand his influence. Furthermore, because
177 of his Sinicization, he adopted the Chinese custom of
worshipping ancestors both in the direct and the indirect lines
[i. e., the line of his granduncle, as well as the line of his
[595] father]. Besides his first wife from the Li-ch'ü family, he
took another wife from the Wu-ch'i family in the hope of continuing
his granduncle's lineage, making his second wife stay
with his grandaunt of the Wu-p'ao family. Hsing-min had good
connections with different Lolo branches and his reputation and
influence grew day by day. The strong family background of
his two wives further enhanced his influence. Because of his
multi-connections with the Lolo and Han-Chinese, he became
one of the very successful Lolo leaders. Whenever the Han-Chinese
living in the Lei-po area mention Hu Hsing-min's
name, they all show great respect and admiration for him.

Wu-chio is quite different from other un-Sinicized Lolo
621 areas in that it is near a Chinese city and has been developed
177 by the Han-Chinese. Its inhabitants are all Sinicized Lolo with
563 occasionally some Han-Chinese families living amidst the Lolo,
so that it can hardly fail to have Chinese influence in its social
organization. It is an important communication center between
the Lolo and Han-Chinese, as well as an important pass to Ta-liang
Shan. [22] As such, it will be difficult to reduce the tension
between the two groups without an intelligent and capable
leader in charge of the place. Hu Hsing-min died about five or
614 six years ago and was survived by two wives and their young
622 children. The wife from the Li-ch'ü family (Li-ch'ü shih) had
627 two young daughters, and the wife from Wu-ch'i (Wu-ch'i shih)
had a son still in infancy. Trouble soon started with the loss
of the great family leader. Hsing-min had a younger uncle
[581] [see footnote, p. 25] in the paternal clan by the name of Hu
[587] Ch'ang-pao, who intended to marry Li-ch'ü shih in order to
succeed to Hsing-min's position. According to Lolo custom,
the wife, after her husband's death, could marry his brother,
his paternal younger uncle, his brother's son, or others. But
[674] Li-ch'ü shih did not want to remarry, and so she secretly
asked her younger brother to kill Ch'ang-pao. The latter's
family was weak and had no male member, but his elder maternal
cousin [mother's elder brother's son], named Wu-ch'i
Ku-pao, announced that he would avenge Ch'ang-pao's death
and led his clan members to Wu-chio to engage in a feud. There
were several attacks and counterattacks with casualties on

614 both sides. Soon afterwards, through negotiations by some
go-betweens, the tension gradually subsided and disappeared.
622 Armed conflict among the Lolo because of a clan feud is very
627 common, sometimes lasting for generations without reconciliation. In Ch'ang-pao's case, however, the feud did not last long because it was not a conflict between two clans. Hsing-min and Ch'ang-pao had a nephew-uncle relationship in the same clan, and any feud within the clan is usually settled according to clan tradition, which stipulates that clan members should not consider each other as enemies. Furthermore, Hu Hsing-min's second wife from the Wu-ch'i family is of the same clan as Wu-ch'i Ku-pao. If she and her family should side with her husband's family to fight against Ku-pao, it would be an intrafamily feud within the Wu-ch'i branch. This kind of hostility, which does not involve one clan against another, divides the strength on each side and so complicates the situation that it could hardly result in a prolonged armed conflict.

614 After the conclusion of Ch'ang-pao's case, the white
622 Lolo subjects [pai-hsing] of the Hu family in Wu-chio, number-
584 ing about a hundred households, were concerned about the absence of leadership in the clan; so they got together and de-
587 cided to arrange a match between Hsing-min's younger cousin [his father's younger brother's son] and Hsing-min's wife from the Li-ch'ü family (Li-ch'ü shih). Hsing-min had no brother, but only three cousins, the sons of his paternal younger uncle. The eldest cousin, Hsing-lun, was already married, while the youngest was still a child. So only the second of the cousins, Hsing-ch'ao, who was fourteen years old, was legally in line to marry his elder cousin's widow. One day, the white Lolo subjects suddenly took Hsing-ch'ao and pushed him into Li-ch'ü shih's room with the intention of forcing a marriage. Li-ch'ü shih, however, had heard the news and slipped away in time to avoid the match. The Lolo people then took Hsing-ch'ao to the house of Wu-ch'i shih, who accepted him. A year later, a baby girl was born. However, it was not long before Wu-ch'i shih died of sickness.
[736] Today, her father, Wu-ch'i Shih-t'u, has to stay with her family to take care of the two young grandchildren.

At present, the ruling power in Wu-chio is entirely in
614 the hands of Li-ch'ü shih, who has been appointed by the Lei-
622 po county government as head of a special pao [ward]. Her
[624] steward, the wa-tzu Ts'ai, makes all outside contacts for her and is known as Ts'ao Pao-chang [the ward headman]. The fact that Li-ch'ü shih is able to exert and maintain her power,

614 just like a woman chieftain, is due to the strength of her parents'
family. Since her elder brother, Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, has
622 been traveling frequently to Wu-chio to help manage her affairs,
no one dares to challenge her power in the village. This, of
course, is not a permanent solution, and Li-ch'ü shih [23] herself
is well aware of it. She has confided to the author that it
was unfortunate that she did not produce a male heir. She is
[589 not yet thirty-one and according to Lolo custom could very well
177] remarry, but she repeatedly announced that she would remain
a widow all her life in observance of Chinese tradition. As Wu-chio
is an area in which Chinese and Lolo cultures intermingle,
the development of this community depends entirely upon the
relationship between the two groups.

621 The cohesive force in the clan village becomes strong
614 if there is a recognized leader supported by all the people.
Whenever something occurs, once the leader has issued a summons,
721 all the male adults of the village immediately assemble
to take orders from him, either to undertake an expedition to fight in a clan feud or to station themselves in front of the village to protect the clan members from enemy invasion. Since the Lolo at Ma-liu Wan had made enemies of the soldiers stationed at Lei-po, anytime they heard of a movement of the soldiers, Ta-i would gather together several dozen men to lay in ambush at the slope in front of Shan-wang Miao so as to deal the government soldiers a severe blow when they passed Chin-chu Tsui at the foot of the slope. Armed clashes between government troops and Lolo people have occurred frequently. After the incident of Hu Ch'ang-pao's death, Wu-ch'i Ku-pao made several surprise attacks on the village of Wu-chio, killing, plundering, and seizing animals. As head of the village, Li-ch'ü shih, although a woman, would personally direct her steward, Ts'ai Pao-chang, to assemble the village people to resist the enemy. At that time, Chinese soldiers were still stationed in Wu-chio, and since Li-ch'ü shih was the chief of the village ward, appointed by the government, the soldiers also undertook to help her in the defense. Therefore the main factor maintaining the clan village as a unit is the union of the clan members, whose combined strength would enable them to protect the villagers' life and property and also to gain lasting independence for the village.

564 A clan leader should always demonstrate a courageous
156 spirit and place himself at the front of a combat, thereby winning
103 the respect and obedience of the people. This is not only
true of the leader, but also of all the black Lolo in the clan.
554 They, too, should be brave enough to lead the white Lolo slaves

564 in an expedition. Therefore the black Lolo take the attitude
156 that to be killed in battle is a special honor, while the white
703 Lolo are accustomed to following the black Lolo, always taking
554 orders from them and placing themselves in a subordinate
position. When Li-ch'ü Ta-chi led our inspection team out of
the mountains on our way back to Lei-po, we passed Wei-kantien,
a high slope covered with brambles and undergrowth. A
strong wind and heavy rain came in succession, and we could
hardly find our path in the midst of the wild grass. All of us
were oppressed by the whipping rain and the numbing cold and
were also in fear of some lurking tiger, leopard, snake, or
scorpion. None dared to go forward but Ta-chi. Very bravely
he led the team to beat a path through the wild grass. This
kind of courage and determination makes the author think highly
of him.

156 Bravery, however, is only one phase of Lolo leadership;
mere bravery is not enough [24] to keep one in the position.
554 For example, Li-ch'ü Pieh-t'u had a nephew [blood
622 brother's son] who is now twenty-five years old, the same age
614 as Ta-i. A well-known fighter in Ma-liu Wan, he is said to
always place himself in the front of every battle; he is also
known as a deadly marksman, never missing the target whenever
he shoots. But though brave, he is stupid, careless, and
rude, so no one respects him. Because of this, Ta-i, though
a distant relative, came to succeed Pieh-t'u after his death
as the leader in Ma-liu Wan. Li-ch'ü Ta-chi is also a leader
who is both wise and brave. In managing his sister's affairs
[648] in Wu-chio, he knows how to use political expediency to make
friends with all the Lolo branches in the area and also to associate
closely with the Han-Chinese, thus gaining the confidence
of Chinese officials in charge of Lolo affairs in Lei-po
city. In recent years, whenever something happens between
the Han-Chinese and Lolo, Ta-chi always plays the role of a
[115] go-between. Therefore he was recommended to the author as
the chief headman-protector for this trip to Liang Shan. After
entering the mountains we went from Ma-ching-tzu westward
to Ting-chia P'ing. During this journey, Ta-chi secretly asked
his maternal elder cousin [mother's elder brother's son], A-cho
Chê-chio, to escort the team with the slaves while he and
his clan nephew [i. e., son of a member of his generation in the
clan], Lao-mu, took a roundabout way to wait for us at Cho-chiao-na-ta.
At that time the author wondered why Ta-chi had
to disappear in the middle of the journey, and it was only afterwards
that we learned that the region between Ma-ching-tzu

156 and Ting-chia P'ing belonged to the sphere of influence of the
554 Pu-chi branch which was an enemy of the Li-ch'ü, and that
622 there was bound to be a conflict if Ta-chi should lead the way
614 and was stopped by the Pu-chi clan. So he ordered a member
of the A-cho clan, who had no feud with the Pu-chi, to guide
us. In this way there would be no occasion for a fight and no
danger on the road. This is evidence of Ta-chi's tactfulness.

614 The maintenance of clan order depends upon the close
union and co-operation of a wise, brave leader and the subjects
627 who support him. Any conflict or quarrel that arises in
the village is always settled by the black Lolo master, whose
decision is obeyed by the white Lolo. As for a dispute among
the black Lolo themselves, it is usually arbitrated by influential,
responsible persons, such as village leaders, or *pao-t'ou*.
[888] Clan members rely upon an older person for his rich
experience and superior judgment, and his words are considered
model utterances to be followed by all. When an older
622 person is a responsible village leader, he need not participate
628 personally in a clan feud; instead, he could stay in the village
887 to make plans and to send out his younger brothers, sons,
brother's sons, and others to head the expedition. The leader
of Pa-p'u village, Li-ch'ü Hsiao-ha, is a big, stalwart, and
well-experienced old black Lolo. Because of his age, he always
stays at home and sends his nephew, Lao-mu, to settle
village affairs. Only twenty-five, Lao-mu is known for his
[554] bravery. Once he captured singlehandedly three Han-Chinese
slaves, who were fleeing from Ta-liang Shan, in an old forest
at Ying-li-lo-ku on the east side of Huang-mao Kang. This
[115] time when our inspection team entered the mountains, Ta-chi
[25] employed Lao-mu as the second headman-protector, partly
because Lao-mu has the backing of his uncle [father's elder
blood brother] Hsiao-ha, who is the number one *ying tu-tu* of
the Li-ch'ü branch.

621 The entire Li-ch'ü branch has its center in the region
614 where the waters of the I-ch'ê Ho and the San-ho-i-chê converge.
[162] It includes Pa-p'u, I-lu, and San-ho-i-ta with a total
population of more than a hundred households. Of these, only
14 are black Lolo, the others being white Lolo. Li-ch'ü
622 Hsiao-ha is not only the leader of Pa-p'u village, but also the
554 head of the entire Li-ch'ü branch. The Lolo of Liang Shan all
614 call him "A-lo Wu-hêh," and none dares call him by his first
name, Hsiao-ha. To call him A-lo, the original ancestor of
the clan, from which the Li-ch'ü has branched out, is to show
him respect. Wu-hêh is a term of respect in the Lolo language.
In the entire Li-ch'ü branch, only one person can be

622 honored as A-lo Wu-hêh. This person must be capable, in-
554 telligent, virtuous, and also advanced in age. Only after his
614 death can another person of old age and great virtue be se-
lected to succeed him in this honorary title. To be sure, it is a term of respect, but it also implies actual power, although the connotation is more moral than political.

141 The A-lo Wu-hêh of the Li-ch'ü branch is the tallest and biggest person in the Lolo community that the author met on this trip. He measures 184 centimeters in height as against the average height of 165 centimeters for the peoples of the world. This shows how tall and imposing Wu-hêh is. As for
577 his ideas and virtues, they can be proved by events the author
115 has personally witnessed. To mention only one instance. The
123 inspection team originally employed Ta-chi as the chief head-
man-protector to lead the expedition to the mountains, and Ta-chi in turn asked his nephew Lao-mu to be the second headman-protector. On the way Ta-chi also took in A-cho Chê-chio as a third headman-protector. Chê-chio is an alcoholic. After drinking, he would talk wildly and incoherently, and also act fiercely. Several times during the trip he cheated the inspection team and plotted to rob us of our money and belongings. After the inspection team had finished its work in San-ho-i-ta, Pa-p'u, and other places, Ta-chi intended to ask Chê-chio and Lao-mu to guide us out of the mountains as he himself had no desire to return to Lei-po city. Overhearing this news, we were deeply upset as Chê-chio had caused us enough trouble since entering the mountains and he was stopped only by Ta-chi's personal intervention on the spot. We would be in danger of being sold as slaves if Chê-chio should be responsible for the journey out of the mountains. Fortunately, before we were ready to leave, Ta-chi asked A-lo Wu-hêh for advice. Wu-hêh frankly reproved Ta-chi, saying that since Ta-chi had escorted the Chinese officials into the mountains, he should act cautiously to lead them safely outside. He also said that Chê-chio was too crazy a fellow to be trusted and if he should change his mind on the way, then misfortune would befall the Chinese officials and the reputation of the Li-ch'ü branch would be ruined. Hearing these words, Ta-chi became enlightened and decided again personally [26] to escort the inspection team out of the mountains. That same night, at Wu-hêh's suggestion, a public announcement was made that our entire team would depart the next day for Nü-hung and Wu-ch'i-ta-ch'i, and after passing Sheng-chi and crossing Huang-mao Kang, would leave the Lolo territory at La-mi. Actually this was a ruse to avoid the attention of Chê-chio and the others who had

577 entertained evil thoughts. For fear that they might waylay us
115 on the Sheng-chi and La-mi road, we hurriedly took a differ-
123 ent route by climbing over Huang-mao Kang from T'e-hsi to
Ta-ku Tui and Hsiao-ku Tui. At last, the inspection team returned safely to Lei-po. Remembering the lofty virtue and prudent thoughtfulness of A-lo Wu-hêh, the author cannot but pay tribute to this Lolo leader.

[27] CHAPTER 3

KINSHIP

000 Kin and clan, though closely interrelated, are not identical. While kin group and clan group both develop from the family unit, each has its distinct scope. The family is bilateral since it has a male member, the father, and a female member, the mother. A clan, however, is a family group propagated and expanded from a single lineage. For instance, the Zuni clan in southwestern North America and the Trobrianders of Melanesia are both descended from the maternal lineage and commonly known as matrilineal communities, whereas the Lolo clan is a group formed by descendants of a single paternal lineage and can be called a patrilineal community. [614 611]

As mentioned above, kinship differs from clanship in that it is bilateral or multilineal, and not confined to a single lineage. Developing from the family unit, it includes both paternal and maternal groups. A common error of modern scholarship is to make a strict distinction between the two groups, considering them as separate in kind. Actually, however, paternal lineage and maternal lineage are not absolutely disparate. Their difference is due to the different degree of member relationship. Thus, in a matrilineal society, paternal relatives also exist except that the children have more contact with the maternal group than with the paternal. On the other hand, in a patrilineal society, maternal relatives also exist except that the children have more contact with the paternal group than with the maternal. To summarize, the difference between patrilineal and matrilineal systems lies in the degree of emphasis on member relationship, rather than an absolute difference in kind. For this reason, a true picture of social conditions cannot be obtained from a mere study of the unilineal clan system. It is only through an additional study of bilateral kinship that one can understand all aspects of a primitive society.

In a broader sense, kinship is not only bilateral, but also multilineal. Aside from paternal and maternal lines, all relatives [28] of the husband, wife, son-in-law, and daughter-in-law are included in the kinship system. Within the kin group, member association is expressed by specific terms of address

000 to designate mutual relationship. The system of kinship terms has been widely applied in field studies and analysis by anthropologists since Lewis Morgan with remarkably good results.

601 Lolo terms of address have all been listed in tables appended to this book. In order to avoid repetition, only Chinese translated terms are used in the text as a basis of discussion and analysis. The reader is asked to refer to these tables in the Appendix for all Lolo language forms and phonetic signs. Here, our first problem is how to differentiate Lolo kinship terms and to arrange them in different groups so as to express different kin relationships according to the actual social structure. Kinship groups can be generally divided into two categories: (1) blood kin, that is, relatives linked by ties of blood; (2) affinal kin, that is, relatives through marriage. As Lolo clan organization is patrilineal, the Lolo kinship system differentiates strictly between the paternal group and outer groups. Clan members have a set of relationships different from that of non-clan kin, and the two should not be confused. The accompanying chart of the Lolo patrilineal system and its related kinship terms will give the reader a clear understanding and a basis for the following discussion.

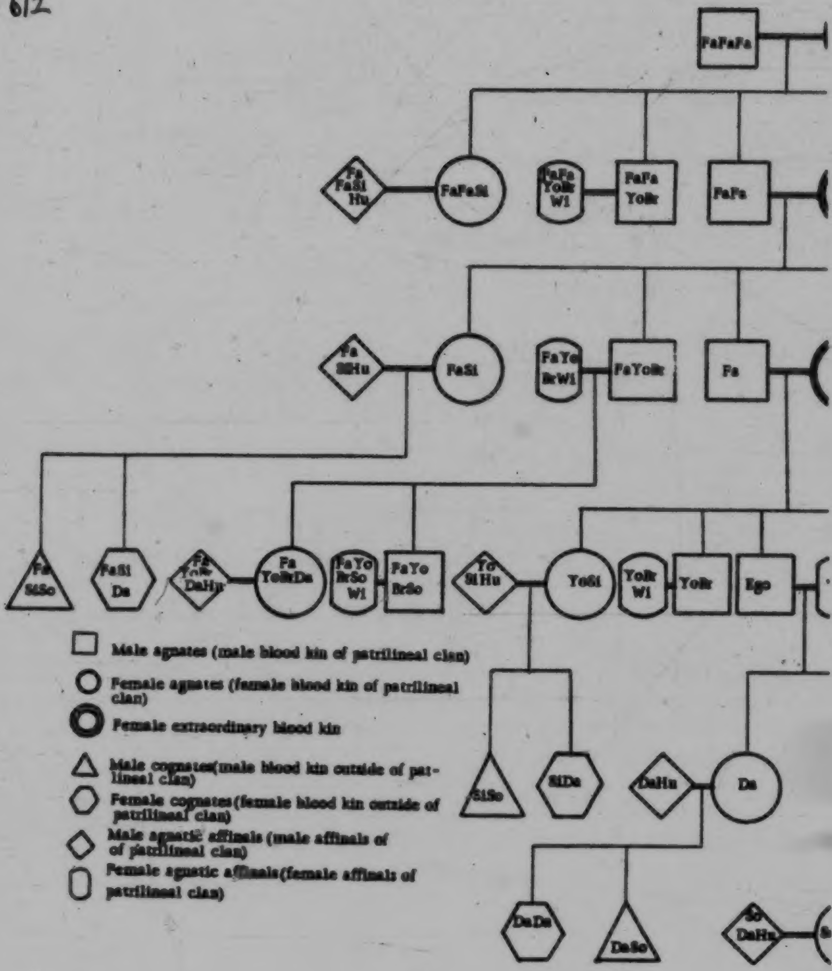
601
612 By referring to this chart it is possible to get a general idea of the Lolo patrilineal clan organization. From the Lolo viewpoint, patrilineal blood kin can be divided strictly into two categories: (1) patrilineal clan group, called "agnates" in the Roman language; and (2) non-clan kin group, but related to ego by blood, called "cognates" in the Roman language. Among the agnates are two groups: lineal and collateral. Lineal kin includes ego's father, father's father, son, daughter, son's son, son's daughter, and others. Collateral kin includes father's elder and younger brothers, ego's brothers, sisters, brother's daughters, and others. The Lolo do not emphasize the difference between lineal and collateral kin for they consider both as basic groups in the patrilineal clan. Lolo clans have been discussed in the previous chapter. To restate it briefly, a clan is an enlarged patrilineal blood kin group that extends to the collateral group. It sometimes includes more than ten [Chart 1 and Chart 2 appear here] [29] generations and even tens of generations. All men and women of the same generation in the same lineage are considered ego's brothers and sisters since they are all members of the same clan. This points clearly to the emphasis the Lolo place on the patrilineal clan.

Among patrilineal kin there is a branch of non-clan blood kin, including father's sisters' children, sisters' children, daughters' children, and others. All these relatives

CHART 1 (Part 1)

Lolo Patrilineal Kinship System

601
612


FaFaFa
Fa FaSi Hu
FaFaSi
FaFa YoBr Wi
FaFa YoBr
FaFa
Fa SiHu
FaSi
FaYo BrWi
FaYoBr
Fa
Fa SiSo
FaSi Da
Fa YoBr DaHu
Fa YoBrDa
FaYo BrSo Wi
FaYo BrSo
Yo SiHu
YoSi
YoBr Wi
YoBr
Ego
SiSo
SiDa
DaHu
Da
DaDa
DaSo
So DaHu
□ Male agnates (male blood kin of patrilineal clan)
○ Female agnates (female blood kin of patrilineal clan)
◎ Female extraordinary blood kin
△ Male cognates (male blood kin outside of patrilineal clan)
⬡ Female cognates (female blood kin outside of patrilineal clan)
◇ Male agnatic affinals (male affinals of of patrilineal clan)
⬯ Female agnatic affinals (female affinals of patrilineal clan)

601
612

[illegible]ART 1 (Part 2)

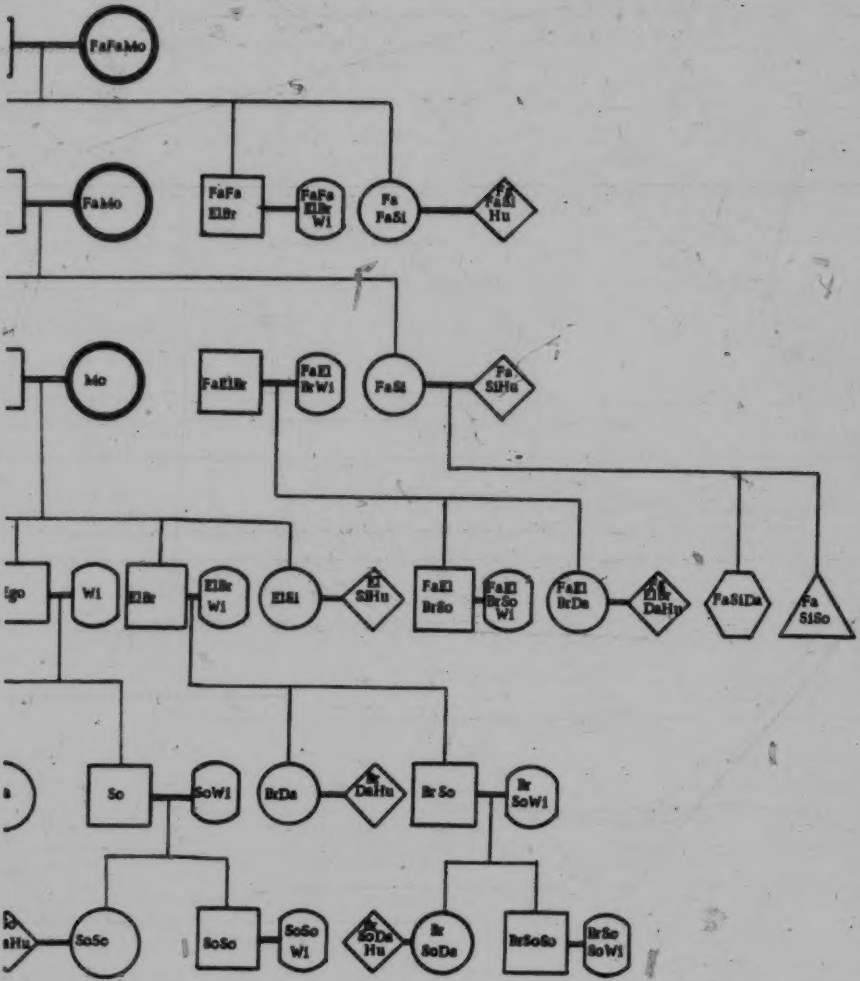
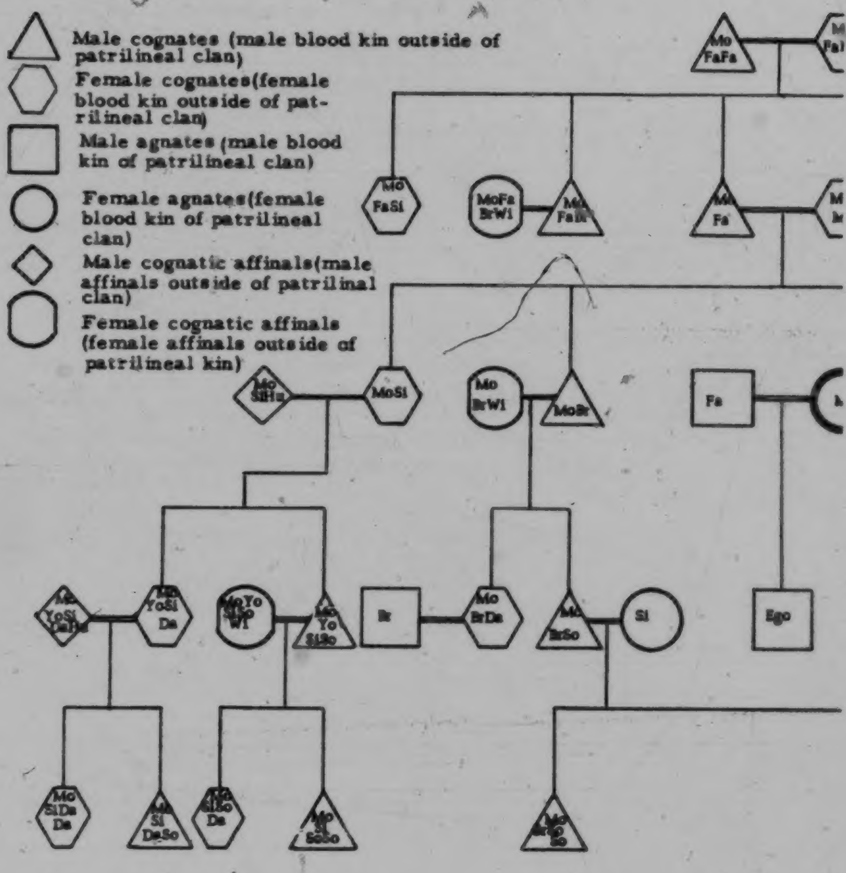

FaFaMo
FaMo
FaFa ElBr
FaFa ElBr Wi
Fa FaSi
Fa FaSi Hu
Mo
FaElBr
FaEl BrWi
FaSi
Fa SiHu
go
Wi
ElBr
ElBr Wi
ElSi
El SiHu
FaEl BrSo
FaEl BrSo Wi
FaEl BrDa
FaEl Br DaHu
FaSiDa
Fa SiSo
a
So
SoWi
BrDa
Br DaHu
Br So
Br SoWi
aHu
SoSo
SoSo
SoSo Wi
Br SoDa Hu
Br SoDa
BrSoSo
BrSo SoWi

CHART 2 (Part 1)

Lolo Matrilineal Kinship System

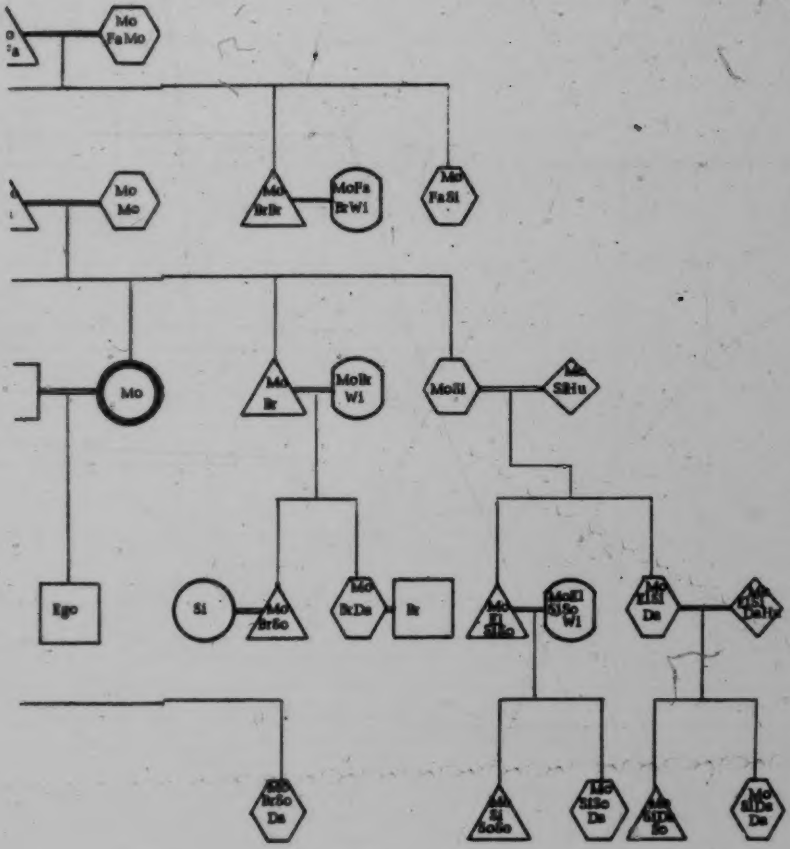
601
612


Male cognates (male blood kin outside of patrilineal clan)
Female cognates (female blood kin outside of patrilineal clan)
Male agnates (male blood kin of patrilineal clan)
Female agnates (female blood kin of patrilineal clan)
Male cognatic affinals (male affinals outside of patrilinal clan)
Female cognatic affinals (female affinals outside of patrilineal kin)
Mo FaFa
Mo FaSi
MoFa BrWi
Mo FaBr
Mo Fa
Mo SiHu
MoSi
Mo BrWi
MoBr
Fa
Mo YoSi DaHu
Mo YoSi Da
MoYo SiSo Wi
Mo Yo SiSo
Br
Mo BrDa
Mo BrSo
Si
Ego
Mo SiDa Da
Mo Si DaSo
Mo SiSo Da
Mo Si SoSo
Mo BrSo So

1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

CHART 2 (Part 2)

601
612


Mo FaMo
Mo Mo
Mo BrBr
MoFa BrWi
Mo FaSi
Mo
Mo Br
MoBr Wi
MoSi
Mo SiHu
Ego
Si
Mo BrSo
Mo BrDa
Br
Mo Si SiSo
MoSi SiSo Wi
Mo SiSi Da
Mo SiSi DaHu
Mo BrSo Da
Mo Si SoSo
Mo SiSo Da
Mo SiDa So
Mo SiDa Da

601 have ties of blood with ego, but they are not members of ego's 612 clan. Clan kin and non-clan kin differ in relationship as well as in mutual duties and responsibilities. Hence the Lolo have a well-defined distinction between patrilineal clan blood kin and non-clan blood kin.

The drawing of a kinship chart should represent not only the kinship system, but also all the different kin groups and their various relationships. In the first chart we use different figures to represent kin groups of different sexes, clans, and relationships. Two different figures are used for patrilineal clan blood kin: □ for males and ○ for females. In each figure is a term of address to represent a relative or the corresponding kin relationship. Non-clan blood kin is also indicated by two figures: △ for male members and ⬡ for female members. We would like to repeat here that only patrilineal blood kin are clan members, whereas non-clan blood kin, even though they trace their descent from the paternal line, are not clan members and belong to a different kin group.

Besides blood kin, the other main kin group is affinal kin. According to the nature of the marriage, affinal kin can be divided into three categories. (1) Relatives who have affinal relationships with patrilineal blood kin, that is, those who marry female members of the patrilineal clan, such as father's sister's husband, sister's husband, daughter's husband, brother's daughter's husband, and others; also those female members who marry into the patrilineal clan, such as father's brother's wife, brother's wife, son's wife, brother's son's wife, and others. All these are agnatic affinals. In the chart, ego's mother, father's mother, and grandfather's mother form a special group, as these three are all non-clan female members who have married into the clan and through these marriages are connected with ego by ties of blood. They are marked with double lines to show that they are different from the others. (2) Relatives who have affinal relationships with non-clan blood kin, such as father's sister's son's wife, father's sister's daughter's husband, sister's daughter's husband, sister's son's wife, daughter's daughter's husband, daughter's son's wife, and others. These relatives are cognatic affinals. In the Lolo language, this kin group [30] does not have special terms of address. According to Lolo tradition, all those who have conjugal relations with non-clan blood kin are also members of the patrilineal blood kin group, and as a kin relationship already exists among these patrilineal blood kin, no additional terms of address are called for. This point will be further clarified in the discussions of conjugal relations. (3)Relatives

601 612 through ego's marriage, sometimes called pure affinals. From the male side, these include members of the wife's clan, such as her parents, her brothers, her brother's children, and others; from the female side, these are kin groups of the husband's clan. This subject will be discussed in detail later. All the above three categories of affinal kin are represented by the figures ◇ for males and ▯ for females. In this way, the different relationships between the three groups of patrilineal clan blood kin, non-clan blood kin, and affinal kin are represented by different figures. By looking at the chart, the reader can easily recognize and distinguish the different kin groups.

601 In the formation of Lolo kinship terms, some general principles deserve mention. First, the difference between paternal lineage and maternal lineage is the basic principle in differentiating the terms. In other words, kinship terms vary with lineage. Patrilineal kin groups have already been discussed, and matrilineal kin groups will be discussed later in detail. Secondly, kinship terms vary with sex. No matter whether it is blood kin or affinal kin, different terms are used for different sexes. Thirdly, generation rank is another factor in differentiating the terms of address. In the patrilineal clan, ego's father, grandfather, son, and grandson all have different terms of address. Fourthly, as lineal kin and collateral kin are differentiated, so are their terms of address. Thus, there are different terms of address for ego's father who belongs to the lineal group and ego's father's brother who belongs to the collateral group. There is the same distinction in the terms of address for ego's children, who are lineal, and ego's brother's children, who are collateral. Maternal relatives are not connected with the patrilineal clan but also belong to the collateral branch. The Lolo stress the distinction between clan and non-clan, but not the distinction between lineal and collateral. Fifthly, the Lolo emphasis on the eldest son's branch is an extremely unique feature. Without any age distinction, all children of father's elder brothers are addressed as elder brothers and sisters; similarly, all the grandfather's elder brother's son's children are addressed as elder brothers and sisters. On the other hand, the children of father's younger brothers and the grandfather's younger brother's son's children are all addressed, regardless of age, as younger brothers and sisters.

The terms in the chart are those of indirect address. Kinship terms distinguish between direct and indirect address. A term of indirect address is one which ego uses in indicating to others the relative referred to. For instance, [31] in talking

601 to others, ego would refer to his father as "father." Direct address is used when he directly addresses his kin. Thus, in front of his father, ego would call him "papa" instead of "father." Terms of direct address have great use in daily life and all kinship relations are expressed through them. Therefore they should not be neglected in our discussion.

We shall start with ego's generation. Like the Chinese, the Lolo have four special terms of indirect address for elder brother, younger brother, elder sister, and younger sister, but the situation is slightly different in direct address. Elder brothers and sisters call the younger ones by name without any special term. On the other hand, younger brothers and sisters address the elder ones according to a definite order, that is, elder brothers and sisters are numbered according to the order of their birth and thus conveniently addressed (for details, see Appendix 1, "Lolo Terms of Direct Address," Table 1). There are respectively five terms of direct address for elder brothers and five for elder sisters. If a person has six elder brothers, then he would use the same term of address for his sixth elder brother as for the fifth elder brother. As a matter of
[162] fact, the lack of population growth and the high mortality rate among the Lolo makes it exceedingly rare to have more than five brothers in a family. The children of father's elder brothers are all called elder brothers and sisters in their age order, even though some of them may be younger than ego. On the other hand, the children of father's younger brothers, whatever their age, are called by their names. There is, however, in Lolo language a collective term, ma dzz gni mo, for all Lolo elder and younger brothers and sisters to denote their general relationship. The terms of address not only express personal relationship, but also regulate the behavior pattern within this relationship. For instance, intermarriage between Lolo males
[582] and females in the ma dzz gni mo relationship is absolutely forbidden. In an extended application of the term, all male and female members of the same generation in the patrilineal clan, due to their common brother-sister relationship, are also not allowed to marry each other.

In addressing the elder and younger brothers of father's generation, there is one term for lineal kin and another for collateral kin, which includes father's elder and younger brothers without any age distinction. That is to say, the Lolo term of address is unlike the Chinese in that it does not distinguish between father's elder brother and younger brother; similarly the Lolo have only one term of address for father's elder and younger sisters without any age distinction. The Lolo term

601 of direct address for father is similar to that of indirect address. The terms of direct address for father's elder and younger brothers are formed by adding to the term for father five different suffixes in the order of their birth (see Appendix 1, "Terms of Direct Address," Table 2). If ego's father is the eldest brother, then father's younger brothers are addressed by adding to the term for father the suffixes denoting second, third, fourth, and fifth. If father is the second eldest brother, [32] the suffix for first is added for father's older brother, and the suffixes for third, fourth, and fifth are added for father's younger brothers, and so forth. In other words, the terms of direct address for father's elder and younger brothers are geared to the order of the father's seniority among the brothers. On the surface, therefore, the terms make no age distinction, that is, from the term of address itself, there is no indication as to who father's elder brothers and who father's younger brothers are. As to father's elder and younger male paternal first cousins, who are ego's paternal grandfather's elder and younger brothers' sons, they are addressed by ego according to the order of their birth and bear no relation to the terms for father's own elder and younger brothers. The terms of direct address for father's sisters are according to the order of their birth, not to be confused with the terms for male members. There is only one term of address for father's sister's husband without any distinction as to age order. Sometimes, father's sister's husband is also addressed as mother's brother since before marrying father's sister, he was also mother's brother.

In the paternal grandfather's generation, there are three terms respectively for paternal grandfather, grandmother, and grandfather's sister. The terms of direct address are formed by adding to these three terms the five suffixes denoting age order. No distinction is made between terms of direct and indirect address for paternal great grandparents, nor any differention made relative to their age order. There is no special term for male and female members above great grandfather's generation, who are all addressed by the general terms for great grandfather and great grandmother.

Younger brothers, younger sisters, sons, brother's sons, and other male and female members below ego's generation can all be called by name and there are no terms of direct address. The only exception is the term sa-mo used by ego's father to address ego's wife. There is a custom of 606 avoidance between father-in-law and daughter-in-law so that the two usually do not see or talk to each other, but they may

606 greet each other at a distance. This kind of avoidance merely indicates the proper behavior pattern in the kin group.

Having mentioned above the address system of patri-
601 lineal kin, we can now make a chart for that of matrilineal kin to compare and study the interrelations between the two kinship systems.

Mother's elder and younger brothers and sisters are also ego's maternal uncles and aunts. There is a special term for maternal uncles to distinguish them from paternal uncles; likewise, there is also a special term for maternal aunts to distinguish them from paternal aunts. This further illustrates the strict distinction between patrilineal and matrilineal kin. The Lolo system is unlike the British and American system, in which there is only one term for father's elder and younger brothers and mother's brothers, and also only one term for mother's sisters, father's sisters, and father's brothers' wives. It is apparent that the British and American system does not stress the distinction between the patrilineal and the matrilineal. As the terms of address indicate kin relationships and reflect social organization, one can easily find out, by comparing the terms of address used by the Lolo and the British and American, that the two societies are quite different in nature.

In Lolo usage, mother's brother, mother's brother's wife, mother's sister, and mother's sister's husband all have terms of direct address [33] according to a definite order (for details, see Appendix 1, "Lolo Terms of Direct Address," Table 3). The relationship between ego and ego's mother's brother and his wife is very close; frequently they are also ego's parents-in-law since according to Lolo custom ego has priority in marrying one of the daughters of mother's brothers. Since mother's sister may be married to father's elder or younger brother, she has the same term of address as that for father's brother's wife. The term of direct address for mother's sister's husband is the same as that for father's elder or younger brother. The children of mother's sister and her husband have the same relation to ego as the children of father's brother and his wife. Mother's elder sister's children, who are ego's male and female maternal cousins, are addressed by ego as elder brothers and sisters; mother's younger sister's children are all addressed as younger brothers and sisters. The children of ego's male and female maternal cousins are all ego's nephews and nieces on the maternal side. Because of this relationship with mother's sister's line, it has sometimes been stated that the Lolo are inclined to a maternal lineage,

601 which of course is erroneous. By comparing and analyzing
the Lolo kinship system and the concomitant interpersonal re-
lationships and living conditions within this system, it becomes
obvious that the Lolo have a paternal lineage. Patrilineal kin-
602 ship is the basic element in clan cohesion, and the clan village
is the center of social organization. The Lolo, however, also
maintain close contact with maternal kin, especially in the af-
final relationships, where the custom of intermarriage for a
number of generations results in multi-kinship ties. Hence
apart from the members of the paternal clan, maternal kin
form the group mostly closely related to ego's life.

The children of mother's brothers, who are ego's male
601 and female maternal cousins, are all directly addressed ac-
cording to their age order (see Appendix 1, "Lolo Terms of
Direct Address," Table 4). Wives of mother's brother's sons
are addressed by ego as elder or younger sisters, while hus-
bands of mother's brother's daughters and ego address each
other as elder or younger brothers. Ego and ego's brothers
582 have the priority of selecting mates from among mother's
brother's daughters; similarly, mother's brother's sons also
have priority in selecting their mates from among ego's sisters.
In other words, the Lolo practice intermarriage between the
children of a brother and of a sister, called "cross cousins"
in English. Cross cousins and parallel cousins are two apposi-
601 tive terms. Children of elder and younger brothers are "paral-
lel cousins" and so are children of elder and younger sisters,
although they differ in Chinese terms. Children of elder
brother and younger sister or those of elder sister and younger
brother are all cross cousins, for which there is in the Lolo
language a collective term, o zie a sa. This is in apposition
to the term ma dzz gni mo, and the relationships they refer to
are also opposite. In the former relationship, cross cousins
[582] have preferential marriage privileges, whereas in the latter,
all brothers and sisters as well as parallel cousins are for-
bidden [34] to intermarry.

Cross-cousin marriage between the paternal and maternal clans is practiced generation after generation; consequently, the formation of kinship terms of address has been influenced by these marriage relations. Take, for example, the kin of the maternal grandfather's generation. The term of address for mother's mother is the same as for father's father's sister, which means that ego's maternal grandmother is probably also ego's paternal grandfather's sister. Likewise the terms of address for mother's father's [editor's emendation, originally, "mother's mother's"] elder and younger sisters are the same as those for father's father's wife and for father's father's elder and younger brother's wives. That is to say, ego's paternal grandmother or ego's paternal grandfather's brother's wife may have been an elder or younger sister of ego's maternal grandfather. In other words, from the terms of address for both paternal and maternal clans, it is apparent that the generation of paternal grandfather and maternal grandfather has already had cross-cousin marriage relations.

A study of kinship terms based on ego's relations with inferior generations also reveals instances of cross-cousin marriage. The son of mother's brother's son may often be the son of ego's elder or younger sister, that is, a maternal uncle's grandson is also sister's son; the daughter of mother's brother's son may be the daughter of ego's elder or younger sister, that is, maternal uncle's granddaughter is also sister's daughter. Moreover, maternal uncle's grandson or sister's son may also become ego's daughter's husband or ego's brother's daughter's husband; and maternal uncle's granddaughter or sister's daughter may become ego's son's wife or ego's brother's son's wife. These relatives of ego's inferior generation do not have terms of direct address because they can all be called by name. The one exception is that maternal uncle's granddaughter or sister's daughter may be called sa-mo, which is the same direct address as for son's wife.

As a result of generations of cross-cousin marriage, the relatives of paternal and maternal lines become closely interlocked and the conjugal ties of blood kin become multiplied. Affinal kinship is also affected by cross-cousin marriage, and its terms of address are almost completely evolved from those of matrilineal kin (see Chart 3 for details).

The terms of address for wife's grandparents are the same as for mother's parents. This is because wife's parents are also ego's mother's brother and his wife. Sometimes the terms of address for wife's parents are similar to those for ego's father's sister and her husband because in this case ego marries the daughter of father's sister. Even if ego does not marry mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter, still the terms of address for ego's wife's parents are the same as for mother's brother and his wife. This proves that the Lolo practice of cross-cousin marriage between ego and mother's brother's daughter has had a long history. Since ego's father-in-law is called maternal uncle, the term of address implies a dual relationship.

Wife's elder and younger brothers and sisters are also ego's mother's brother's sons and daughters. Wife's elder and

601 younger brothers' wives are also ego's elder and younger sisters. Since originally wife's elder and younger sisters and ego's elder and younger brothers are cross cousins and so have priority in the marriage relationship, wife's elder and younger sisters' husbands are also ego's elder and younger brothers.

[35] [Chart 3 appears here]

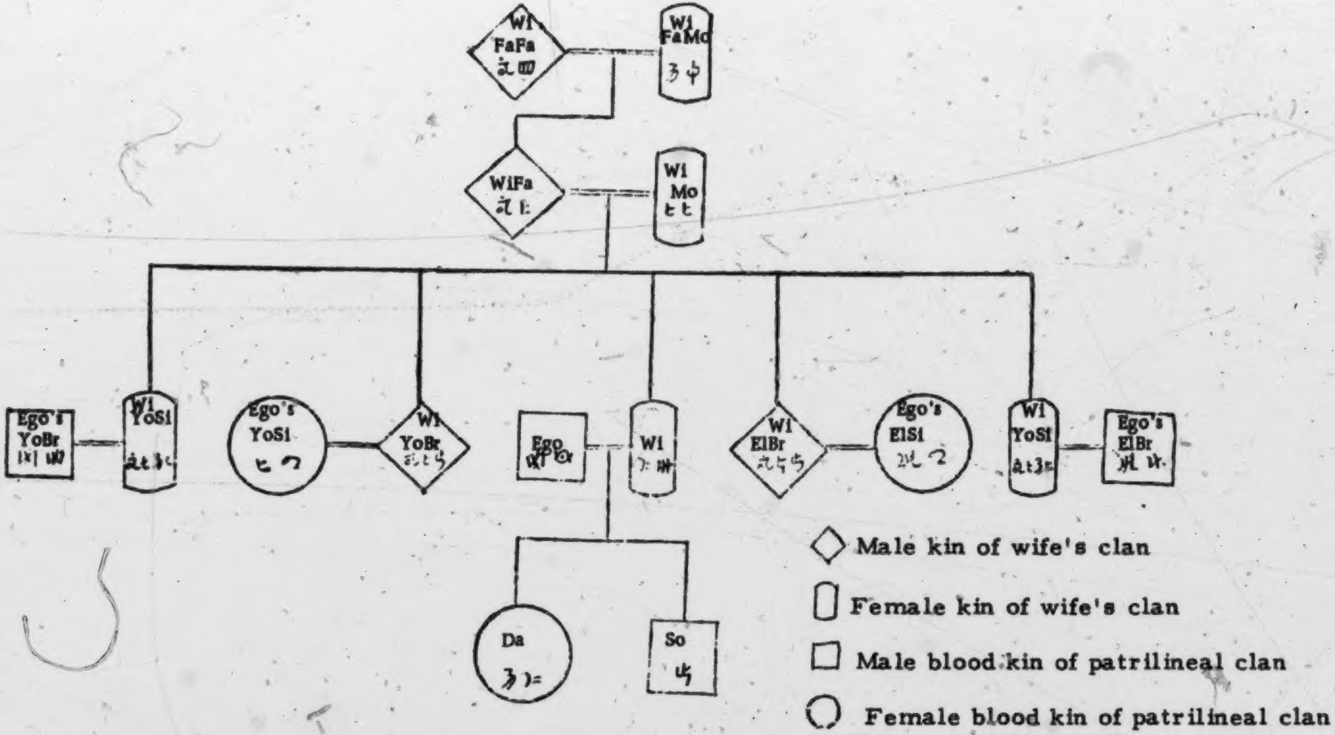
From the standpoint of a woman as ego, as soon as she is married into her husband's clan, her terms of address for the kin of her husband's clan form another system (for a general outline of this system, see Chart 4).

[36] [Chart 4 appears here]

"Husband" and "wife" are two terms of indirect address; as they do not address each other face to face, there are no special terms of direct address. But after they have children, they may follow the children's example by the wife's addressing the husband as father and the husband's addressing the wife as mother. On the wife's side, the terms of address for her husband's parents are the same as those for her father's sister and father's sister's husband, but because of avoidance between daughter-in-law and father-in-law [37], the two rarely address each other directly. On account of her marriage into her mother's brother's family, she sometimes calls her parents-in-law maternal uncle and aunt. By following her husband's example, she addresses his elder and younger brothers as elder and younger brothers, but she calls their wives elder and younger sisters. This is because her elder and younger sisters are married to her husband's elder and younger brothers; custom dictates that even though the wives of her husband's elder and younger brothers are not her own elder and younger sisters, they are still addressed as sisters. [595] In cases where a man has more than one wife, wives and concubines call one another sister. The relationship between a wife and her husband's sister is a mi a sa in the Lolo language; a mi actually is used by [the husband's] younger brother and sister as a term for elder brother's wife, and a sa is an address term used [by the wife] for her father's sister's daughter. To call husband's elder and younger sisters by the same term as father's sister's daughter is another instance of a man's mother's brother's daughter being married into her father's sister's family. By referring to Appendix 1, "Lolo Terms of Direct Address," Table 5, it is apparent that the terms of direct address between a wife and her husband's sisters [Chart 5 appears here] [38] vary slightly. The eldest among them is called a sa, whether it be for sister to call first elder brother's wife or for wife to

CHART 3

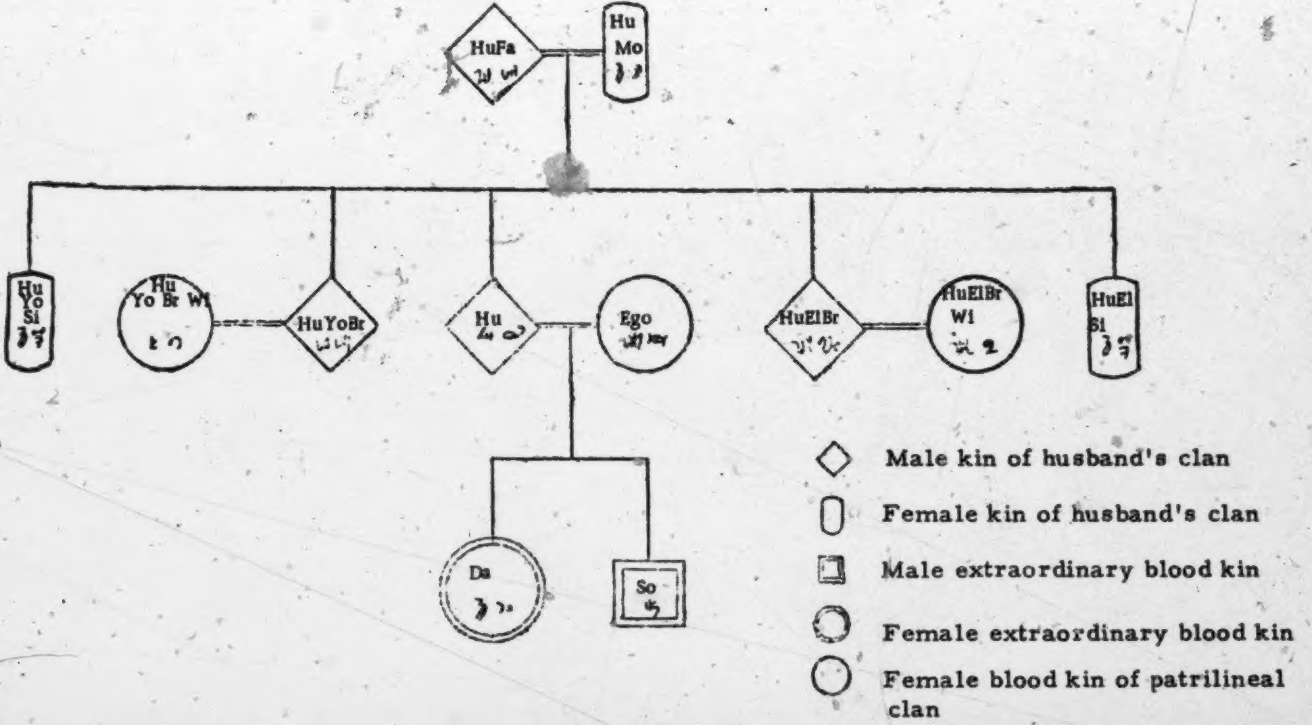
Kinship System of Wife's Clan


Wi FaFa
Wi FaMo
WiFa
Wi Mo
Ego's YoBr
Wi YoSi
Ego's YoSi
Wi YoBr
Ego
Wi
Wi ElBr
Ego's ElSi
Wi YoSi
Ego's ElBr
Da
So
Male kin of wife's clan
Female kin of wife's clan
Male blood kin of patrilineal clan
Female blood kin of patrilineal clan

109

CHART 4

Kinship System of Husband's Clan


HuFa
Hu Mo
Hu Yo Si
Hu Yo Br Wi
HuYoBr
Hu
Ego
HuElBr
HuElBr Wi
HuEl Si
Da
So
Male kin of husband's clan
Female kin of husband's clan
Male extraordinary blood kin
Female extraordinary blood kin
Female blood kin of patrilineal clan

601 call husband's first elder sister; the others are called according to the order of their seniority. In general, the wife's terms of address for her husband's clan, with the exception of husband's parents, husband's brother's wife, and husband's sister, follow closely the terms of address used by the husband for his clan kin.

The terms of address for members of the son-in-law's clan and those of the daughter-in-law's clan are also completely influenced by cross-cousin marriage relations (for this relationship, see Chart 5, Kinship System of Son-in-law's and Daughter-in-law's Clans).

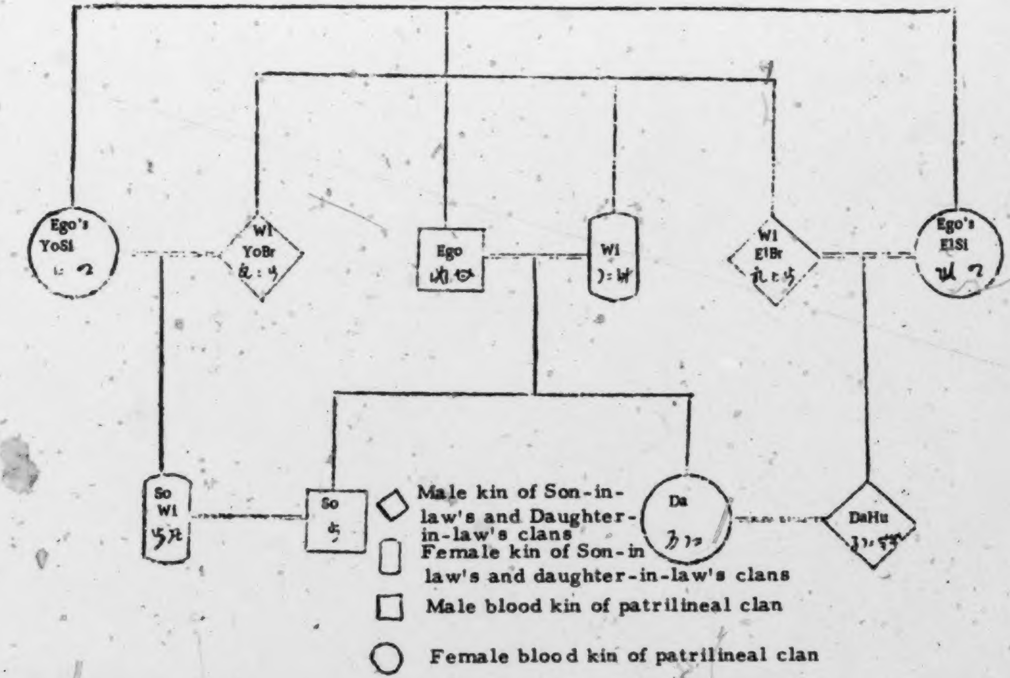
In this chart, daughter's husband's father is ego's wife's elder brother and also ego's mother's brother's son, and daughter's husband's mother is ego's elder or younger sister. Son's wife's father is ego's wife's younger brother and also ego's mother's brother's son, and son's wife's mother is again ego's elder or younger sister. On account of this relationship, ego and ego's son-in-law's father or daughter-in-law's father call one another maternal first cousins, while ego's wife and son-in-law's mother or daughter-in-law's mother address one another as sisters-in-law.

Generally speaking, in the Lolo system of kinship address, daughter-in-law's and son-in-law's clans are evolved from wife's clan, just as wife's clan is evolved from the kin of mother's clan. After all, paternal kin and maternal kin are the most basic and also the most important. Because of the priority in selecting mates from among cross cousins, there are intermarriages and mutual dependence among members of paternal and maternal clans, which result in these special features of the Lolo kinship system.

601

CHART 5

Kinship System of Son-in-law's and Daughter-in-law's Clans


Ego's YoSi
Wi YoBr
Ego
Wi
Wi ElBr
Ego's ElSi
So Wi
So
Da
DaHu
Male kin of Son-in-law's and Daughter-in-law's clans
Female kin of Son-in law's and daughter-in-law's clans
Male blood kin of patrilineal clan
Female blood kin of patrilineal clan

[39]

CHAPTER 4

THE FAMILY

361 As a basic unit of the Lolo clan, the family is the most
closely related kin group. In a clan village, the number of
families varies from about 10 to 50, each occupying a dwelling.
The houses are scattered on a level plain or slope; together
they constitute a village community.

594 The members of a family include husband, wife, and
all unmarried children. After the children grow up and marry,
they form a new family unit and live in a separate house. So
the Lolo observe what is commonly called the small family sys-
567 tem. As the household slaves (wa-tzu) are not included in the
kin group, there is also a master-slave relationship within each
592 household. The Lolo consider slaves as chattels; nevertheless
the slaves are human beings, not immovables, and their be-
havior is related to group life. In Chapter 7, "Classes," the
position of the slaves will be discussed in detail. It suffices
to treat here the relationship between master and slaves with-
in the household.

342 The behavior of family members and their interrela-
tionships are based on material aspects. First, we shall de-
351 scribe their dwelling, which is the center of family life. The
construction of a Lolo house is adapted to the natural environ-
[132] ment. Because of strong winds and heavy snow around Ta-
liang Shan, all the houses are small and low, encircled by a
square wall with one or two doors in the front or in left and
right walls. For instance, Li-ch'ü Yo-ha's house in Pa-p'u
village has only a wooden gate on the front half of the right
wall, just a short distance from the corner of the fortified
front wall. When we entered the door of Yo-ha's house, we
[343] first saw an open level court; on its left or on the opposite
side of the main gate was a fenced-in wooden enclosure, in-
habited by fowls and cattle. At the front of the animal pen was
tied a ferocious Pekingese dog, which barked madly at strangers
and would probably have bitten them too if it had not been fas-
231 tened to an iron chain. The households of Liang Shan had at
least one dog each for protection against enemies. Every
time our inspection team passed a village, the dogs would
chase and bark at us. Fortunately our Lolo headmen-protectors

231 were able to deal with them effectively; otherwise we would have been hard put to defend ourselves even if we had sticks in our hands.

342 [40] At the back wall of Yo-ha's house are located the family's living quarters, consisting of a rectangular room built entirely of wood. The roof is also made of wood with stones on top to protect it from wind and snow. The stones are arranged in an orderly and pleasing manner on the roof. There is a wooden door in the room, but no window. Upon entering the room, one immediately feels suffocated in the nose and mouth by widespread clouds of smoke from the fire in the
354 hearth. The construction of the hearth, which is located slightly to the left of the center of the room, is very simple. A round pit about three feet in diameter is dug in the ground for building the fire. Three stone slabs are placed in a triangle
[439] over this pit to support the large iron pan used for cooking. The pan, round at the bottom, is imported from the Han-Chinese. The fire is lighted by striking a flint with a piece of iron, but
[372] actually the fire in the pit is never allowed to go out and it burns day and night. The center of all family activities, the hearth plays an important part in the Lolo household, as is shown later in our discussion of their family life.

576 353 When we entered the house, we were welcomed by Yo-ha and invited to sit at the back of the hearth by the rear wall. This is the seat of honor for guests. Yo-ha himself took the host's seat on the left side of the hearth. At the back of the host's seat, or sometimes on the left side of the room divided by a wooden partition, were the family sleeping quarters, which also served as the storage place for precious articles and
352 415 provisions. In front of the hearth stood a wooden cabinet, wooden shelves, water pails, and all the food utensils. Under the shelves were firewood and straw. The right side of the room was divided by a bamboo fence into two sections: a grindstone, a mortar, wooden pails, bamboo baskets, and other articles in the rear half; and two yellow oxen in a
[231] wooden pen in the front half. This was the arrangement of Yo-ha's house.

342 351 Most of the houses in Ta-liang Shan are the same as Yo-ha's, but there are a few exceptions. For example, the house of our headman-protector, Ta-chi, is well known in the Liang Shan area as a Sinicized Lolo house. It has brick walls, a tiled roof, and an arched stone gate with Chinese characters carved on the top and sides. Inside the gate are two sections, the front being a Chinese-style courtyard with animal pens

342 on both sides and the rear containing living quarters arranged
351 in the same way as other Lolo houses except that the room is
much wider and comparatively cleaner. The stone slabs on
354 the stove are carved with birds, animals, and flowers in shapes
531 which are quite graceful and beautiful. These represent marks
of distinction for houses of noble Lolo families.

The houses in Hsiao-liang Shan are slightly different
342 from those in Ta-liang Shan in that they all have straw roofs
instead of wooden ones. They are similarly rectangular in
shape, but not encircled by four walls. The fortifications are
sometimes built on a corner of the house and sometimes out-
side of the house either on the left side or the right. The poor
white Lolo families, whose houses are made of bamboo or
thatch, have no such fortifications. Although the interior
353 varies from simplicity to elaborateness, the patterns of ar-
rangement [41] are generally the same. In the center of the
house stands the stove, on the right are the grindstone and
animal pen, and on the left the sleeping quarters and grain
storage. This kind of material cultural pattern merely shows
that the Lolo family has a set of customs which control the be-
havior and action of its members.

There is also an unwritten code for clothing and orna-
302 mentation. The Lolo male usually shaves his head except for
[826] one small patch of hair above the forehead, called *t'ien p'u-sa*,
which is considered a sacred part of the human body that
should not be offended. The Lolo also pull out the hair of their
beards so that it will not grow. Wu-ch'i Shih-t'u who lives in
Wu-chio is over 70 years old, and although his *t'ien p'u-sa* is
completely white, he does not have a single hair on his face.
In stature, a Lolo and a Han-Chinese are hardly distinguish-
able, but one who has a beard is inevitably a Han-Chinese while
one who has a *t'ien p'u-sa* is generally a Lolo, with the excep-
tion of those Han-Chinese slaves who are forced to keep a
291 *t'ien p'u-sa*. The Lolo male usually covers his head with a
piece of cloth, either black, white, or blue. It is quite long
and wrapped around the head like a turban; sometimes a braid
of hair is tied to the top, protruding from above the forehead
like the horn of an antelope. Lu Hsüeh-nien, a black Lolo of
P'a-ha village in Hsiao-liang Shan, has his headgear fixed in
in this style.

515 The Lolo leave their faces unwashed in spite of accu-
301 mulated dirt. Often a hole is pierced on the lower lobe of a
304 man's left ear. Sometimes he wears in it three red beads,
from each of which hang down silk strings of various colors;
sometimes he wears a silver earring; at other times he uses
only a piece of cotton thread without any ornament.

291 The Lolo male has only one upper garment to cover his
body, in winter or summer. The garment is usually blue, with
a slit on the right side, reaching to the waist. The buttons are
made of bone or cloth. Double layers of cloth or multi-
colored lace are sewn with cotton thread on the sleeve openings
and edges of the garment. The trousers have enormously wide
legs. They look like a long skirt when the wearer stands up,
but the legs are often tucked in the belt at the waist when he
[514] walks. A man can urinate very conveniently by pulling up the
trouser legs without having to untie his belt. The Lolo do not
wear shoes and both men and women have normal feet.

The Lolo wear capes for protection against inclement
[287 weather. There are two kinds of capes: one made of hand-
matted felt, thick and warm; the other made of woven wool
288] for wear in the rain. They can be worn singly as an overcoat
or one over the other. Both are very narrow at the neck and
long enough to reach the knees. The woven woolen cape is
decorated with tassels on the lower part and looks exceedingly
handsome. The cape, a special feature of Lolo clothing, is
very popular with both men and women, old and young.

302 [42] Lolo women are adorned somewhat differently.
Instead of a t'ien p'u-sa on the forehead, women of different
age groups have different styles of hairdo, a single braid, two
braids, or a bun coiled up on the head. For their headgear
291 or hats, there are several combinations and styles, which vary
according to age. The woman has two holes in each ear, one
304 on the lower lobe and the other inside the rim. The ear orna-
ments consist of red beads and silver, coral, or other pen-
301 dants.

The women's upper garments are the same as the
291 men's, except that the sleeves are always trimmed with lace.
For example, Li-ch'ü Ch'ü-hsi-erh of San-ho-i-ta village has
three layers of lace on the hems of her dress and five rows of
silver buttons on the collar. The women do not wear trousers
but cover the lower part of the body with a long skirt made of
many pleats in variegated colors. Like the men, they wear
two kinds of woolen capes. When the author's party reached
Wu-chio, we were greeted by Mrs. Hu, nee Li-ch'ü, who was
the village head. As she walked toward us from a distance in
her tasseled woolen cape and long skirt trailing on the ground,
her graceful mien made her look almost like a queen on
promenade.

241 For food production, the Lolo rely on animal husbandry
233 and farming, especially the latter. Every family has a plot
of arable land which is cultivated for food crops. Grazing is

241 not common and only wealthy families can afford to keep a
233 herd of cattle or sheep. The general belief that the Lolo are
a nomadic tribe is erroneous.

567 Agriculture and grazing will be discussed more fully
in Chapter 6, "Economic Life." Here mention will be made
only of family labor connected with these occupations. In a
[356] Lolo family, all housework is done by slaves under the supervision
of the black Lolo master. Every black Lolo family has
several household slaves called kuo-chuang wa-tzu [lit., "stove
slaves"], who are white Lolo or Han-Chinese. These slaves
[592] live in the master's house, do housework for him, and are indebted
to him for all their food and clothing. They own no
property, but are themselves considered a part of their master's
property. He can sell them whenever he pleases. The
white Lolo who are not household slaves have their own dwelling
places, land, cattle, and other property. Sometimes they
also have Han-Chinese as slaves to work for them. On the
other hand, they have to take orders from their black Lolo
masters and perform duties for them. The white Lolo are
never completely freed from the slave status.

512 In a Lolo household, both master and slaves rise early
[515] in the morning. They wipe their eyes clean with their hands,
but do not wash their faces. The male slaves who tend cattle
and sheep lead them up the mountain to graze, while those who
farm take their tools to the field to plow or weed. Farming
[241 is a joint effort of husband and wife, who often work together
462] shoulder to shoulder in the field. In sowing, plowing, or
harvesting, [43] men and women both participate. The herders
usually take corn cakes made the night before to eat on the
mountain. The farm workers generally return to the house for
breakfast at about 10 o'clock, after which they do not go out to
work again. Sometimes they stay home in the morning and go
to the field after breakfast. The Lolo do not engage in intensive
241 farming. Though uncultivated lands lie everywhere in
Liang Shan, the Lolo are not interested in developing them for
cultivation. They are satisfied with having just enough food for
family consumption.

[264] They have two meals, one in the morning and the other
in the evening, but no regular mealtime. The preparation of
252 food is the duty of female household slaves. Dried corn or
buckwheat, doled out to them from storage by the mistress of
the house, is first ground into flour on the grindstone. After
the stove is lighted, the flour is poured into an iron caldron,
mixed with water and boiled, and then taken out and put into a
round, flat-bottomed basket. The dough is kneaded into round

252 cakes, called corn cake or buckwheat cake. The cakes have
to be steamed again in the iron pan before they can be eaten.
In addition, an auxiliary dish of sour vegetable soup is served
for an ordinary daily meal; sometimes boiled potatoes or bean
curd mixed with a green vegetable are added for a comparative-
ly abundant meal.

264 In eating, the food is first served to the black Lolo mas-
415 ter seated on the left side or to the rear of the cooking stove.
The Lolo serve corn cakes in bamboo baskets and the sour
vegetable soup in small round wooden pails. In each pail is
placed ma-shih-tzu, a special utensil having the same function
as a spoon. The ma-shih-tzu is made of wood with a handle a
foot long and an oval-shaped shallow bowl about three inches in
diameter. The Lolo hold the cake in both hands while eating,
264 and as they eat, they ladle up soup with a ma-shih-tzu held in
567 the right hand and then drink from it. In a black Lolo family,
husband, wife, and children all sit around the stove to eat, but
they do not sit or eat together with the white Lolo slaves. This
is due to the custom of separation for the two groups, a tradi-
tion too strong to be broken. Moreover, the white Lolo can
only sit in front or on the right side of the stove when they eat.
They are forbidden to sit at the rear side of the stove, which
is reserved for honored guests, or on the left where the mas-
ter sits and rests.

264 Not only are black Lolo and white Lolo separated in
eating and drinking, but relatives of different sexes who have
to observe the custom of avoidance do not eat together. As
574 mentioned before, the Lolo practice the small family system,
but they are very solicitous and attentive in entertaining guests.
When relatives come for a visit, they are always entertained
with a meal, and even a Lolo stranger is invited to it. Father-
606 in-law and daughter-in-law, because of avoidance, cannot eat
at the same table; this is also true of mother-in-law and son-
in-law. Younger brother and elder sister-in-law can talk and
607 communicate with each other, but elder brother and younger
sister-in-law must also observe avoidance. Li-ch'ü Ku-p'u,
who is 28 years old, is younger than Ta-chi, but being the
grandson of Ta-chi's grandfather's elder brother, he becomes,
according to Lolo tradition, Ta-chi's elder brother. One day
when Ku-p'u came to visit Ta-chi at his home, [44] the author
observed that Ta-chi, Ku-p'u, and Ta-chi's daughter ate to-
gether, while Ta-chi's wife, nee En-cha, and her younger son
ate separately from the group.

574 When our inspection team traveled in Liang Shan, we
always stayed and had meals with the Lolo. The noble black

574 Lolo families would kill chicken and sheep to entertain us.
[231] Instead of stabbing the chicken with a knife, they would wring
its neck with their hands until it suffocated to death. After
252 having seared off its feathers over a fire, they would boil it,
roast it, or make soup with it. If they killed a sheep, they
[281] would always flay the skin very dexterously and use it to make
a tobacco pouch or bag. The meat is carved into large pieces
and cooked together with the bones. Only a little salt is added
[263] so that the taste is extremely light. As salt is very scarce in
the region, the Lolo consider it as something precious. They
264 serve mutton in a broad-mouthed and flat-bottomed wooden
[415] bowl, often painted with pictures. The Lolo sit on the floor
when eating. Rich black Lolo families would entertain their
[352] honored guests around a small round wooden table, about a
half foot from the ground and two feet in diameter. At a feast
given us by Ta-chi's family, they used this kind of small table
on which were placed mutton, rice, and other food. The Lolo
did not eat with us. At every meal there were four groups:
the members of the inspection team, considered as honored
guests, formed a group at the rear side of the stove; the black
Lolo master and his family lined up on the left side; the hired
laborers of our team, including the Han-Chinese or Lolo car-
riers, formed another group on the right side; the last group
consisted of the black Lolo's household slaves. The last two
groups might mingle with one another, but the hosts and guests
always formed separate groups and never mixed with the white
Lolo or the household slaves. From the Lolo point of view,
members of the inspection team were equal to Chinese nobles
and had the same status as the black Lolo.

574 According to Lolo custom, the food should not be en-
[264] joyed alone, but by all who belong to the household, even the
slaves. Every time the Lolo killed a sheep to entertain us,
it was shared by ten and more persons so that after the meal
nothing was left of the animal. At the end of each meal they
[521] would sit around the stove and talk for a long while before dis-
persing. They engage in an almost endless conversation when
there are guests to be entertained or when neighbors come to
call after the master has just returned from a trip. When
Ta-chi accompanied us to the village of San-ho-i-ta, visitors
came almost continuously for the first day. Ta-chi would en-
273 tertain them all with wine, using wooden bowls as wine cups.
The Lolo are fond of drinking, which has become a habit.
Whether men or women, old or young, they all have a large
capacity and can empty several cups at one draught. While
distilled liquor is imported from the Han-Chinese region, the

273 Lolo also know how to make wine from the grains. They drink
heavily; when they get drunk they cause trouble, which fre-
quently develops into a clan feud.

512 The evening meal is usually served before it gets dark.
After the meal they go out to enjoy the cool breeze or sit around
and play until after dark when it is time to go to bed. They
513 have no bed or couch and just sleep on the floor. The master
of the family sleeps in the living quarters, the male slaves [45]
around the stove, and the female slaves near the grindstone on
the right side of the room. They have neither mattress nor
quilt. They lie on the ground and cover themselves with a
woolen cape, the head pulled down under it and the feet pulled
up around the body. During our stay with Lolo families, we
often lighted the candles that we had brought with us. The Lolo
517 would be so excited by the glittering light that they would talk,
frolic, play the jew's-harp, or dance. One night when we
stayed at T'e-hsi on the right side of Huang-mao Kang, the
light induced two sisters-in-law to dance the "stove dance" for
our entertainment. It was indeed one of the most pleasant
experiences during our stay in the Lolo area.

512 The daily family activities of work and play, eat, drink,
and sleep constitute the normal flow of life in an endless con-
tinuous cycle, but each year there are also numerous special
occasions, such as the New Year, sickness, exorcising, pray-
ing for rain, and others, to change the routine of life. As the
set of activities on such occasions differs from daily routine,
interpersonal relationships within the kin group are readjusted,
the equilibrium of life undergoes some change, and the life
cycle becomes renewed with the seasons.

805 The Lolo have no regular dates for their festivals. They
796 follow the Chinese calendar but have their own system of the
777 Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches [for computing days and
years] to divine good or bad fortune. Three times a year on
auspicious days in the third, seventh, and tenth months of the
lunar year, they hold the ceremony of "sending off the Buddha"
[see p. 116]. Prior to the New Year, which comes in the tenth
796 month, the Buddha has to be sent off before they can celebrate
and enjoy themselves. To celebrate the New Year, they kill
cattle, feast and drink, make New Year calls, and generally
[527 have many good times. Married daughters return home for a
594] visit and together enjoy each other's company for several days.
During the ceremony of sending off the Buddha, they kill oxen,
[782] sheep, or chickens to sacrifice to the spirits and ghosts and
pray for the safety of the family and good days ahead. The

The
791 *pi-mu*, a Lolo magician, is invited to perform on this occasion. In every Lolo village there are always one or two families that specialize in magic, a profession hereditary from father to son for many generations. The *pi-mu* are outstanding personalities among the Lolo. In their houses are kept a number of Lolo scriptures for use in festivals, sickness, fortune-telling, the wedding ceremony, and all kinds of magic performances. The [212] scriptures are in the Lolo written language which survives to this day mainly because of its transmission by the *pi-mu* from master to pupil. The common people have no occasion to use the written language, which actually does not occupy as important a position in Lolo society as is generally believed.

When there is sickness in the family, the Lolo do not 756 depend upon medicine for a cure, but ask the *pi-mu* to perform magic to drive off the evil spirits. They believe that [753] sickness is caused by ghosts and goblins, and can be cured through exorcism. During the ceremony, as mentioned earlier, [782] they sacrifice victims, such as an ox, sheep, pig, or chicken, according to the nature of the sickness and the economic condition of the family. To kill cattle or chickens for [574] such an occasion provides the family with an opportunity for a big feast, which helps to vary the monotony of life and a regular vegetable diet.

[46] Praying for rain is an event of great importance. 782 Rain is scarce on the mountains where the Lolo live and culti- 791 vate their dry land. During a year of drought, they pray to the mountain spirit for rain. The Lolo do not have a monothe- [771] istic concept and believe in an unseen world where a ghost or goblin exists in every object. So they invite the *pi-mu* to perform magic to control the environment around them. When the Han-Chinese pray for rain, they direct their prayers to the dragon-king in the waters; the Lolo, on the other hand, notice [821] that rain comes from the mountain top and so they pray to the mountain spirit. This illustrates how religious ideas are influenced by environment. In praying for rain, they also seek the help of the *pi-mu*. After having killed a white sheep or a white chicken, they would go up the mountain and from the precipices scatter the blood-splattered white feathers to look like snow while the *pi-mu* chants the scripture and performs magic to beg for sweet rain. The rainmaking ceremony is very important because it is directly related to their economic life. Insufficient rain will affect the harvest of corn, buckwheat, oats, and other grains and result in a food shortage for the family.

182 This kind of ceremonial activity during festivals, sick-
574 ness, and rain-making occasions alters the monotony of daily
routine, thereby transforming life and attuning the mind. Like-
wise, the visit and return visit of relatives and the exchange of
gifts — for instance, the black Lolo of Hsiao-liang Shan go to
Ta-liang Shan every summer to visit relatives in the same clan
branch or those outside the clan — also serve to readjust inter-
182 personal relations. The family feud, the killing and plunder-
ing, the armed conflict and the negotiation for peace, the pay-
ing of indemnities and entertaining of guests are all attributa-
ble to the fluctuations of the human mind under varying circum-
stances as it seeks to achieve an adjustment between normal
and abnormal situations so that the routine of life will alter-
nate continuously between harmony and disorder with concomi-
tant changes in society and progress among mankind.

000 The normalcy of daily life and the fluctuations caused
by festivals constitute an annual cycle for the family. Actual-
ly the entire life of a person is itself a complete cycle from
birth to old age and death. Through coming to this world and
then leaving it, members of the family succeed each other to
perpetuate a family line; in this way, the Lolo society pursues
its course from generation to generation and Lolo culture is
preserved.

844 When giving birth to a child, a Lolo mother stays at
home and is helped by all the women in the neighborhood. If
[845] a difficult delivery is expected, an experienced midwife is
hired and a pi-mu invited to ward off the evil spirits. When
846 the umbilical cord is severed, it is buried in the ground under
the room where the mother has given birth. According to tra-
dition it is taboo for the husband to visit his wife during this
period. The Lolo consider childbirth as dirty, and for one
[844] month the mother is not permitted to go outside the house in
order not to offend the door spirit, neither is she permitted
to start a fire for fear she would offend the fire god.

852 [47] Three days, sometimes five, seven, or nine days
574 after birth, the child has its first haircut. To celebrate the
occasion, the head of the household entertains with a feast for
all his friends and relatives, who come to drink together and
[846] discuss the naming of the child. After about one month the
851 child can be held outside the door and the mother is allowed
to take it to her parents' house. If they live far away, how-
574 ever, she will usually make the trip during the New Year. The
431 first time the maternal uncle's family sees the baby, they give
604 it gifts of oxen and sheep, as well as clothes and furniture.
From this custom one can see the close relationship between the

000 maternal uncle and his nephew, and the importance of matri-
lineal kin.

The child is breast-fed by its mother until four or five
853 years old. In case the mother gives birth to another child dur-
862 ing this period, breast feeding will immediately stop and the
child will be given corn cake and sweet potatoes like an adult.
854 It is one of the duties of young girl slaves to take care of the
child. The Lolo make no distinction in their treatment of male
567 or female infants, but the class line between black and white
867 is clear cut. The adults usually call a certain child "black
bone," that is, black Lolo, to distinguish it from "white bone"
or white Lolo. The "black bone" belongs to the noble class
while the "white bone" to the slave class. Therefore, as the
child grows up, it gradually perceives the difference between
black and white, or noble and mean.

The early years are the happiest period in a Lolo's life.
857 Every day after the meal the child is free to come and go as he
pleases, and to play in a group with neighboring children.
Sometimes they go to the mountains to cool themselves; other
times they play in the corn fields. By this time, the black Lolo
857 child has already begun to assume leadership over the white
Lolo children of his age group, who would usually take orders
567 from him. In poor white Lolo families, the children go to
868 work with the adults and learn to tend cattle or to farm by the
time they are seven or eight.

In the period between childhood and youth, boys and girls
857 begin to be separated by the boundaries of sex in work and play.
868 Black Lolo boys start to learn to shoot, to use a gun, and to
pursue each other on horseback. Whenever clan feuds are
fought, they all become excited and want to show off their skill.
They form a small band of their own to attack the enemies and
rob enemy property. Once their reputation for bravery becomes
widespread, they will have hopes of becoming leaders in the
future. On the other hand, girls' activities are centered around
the house. They learn to sew and knit, to embroider, to assign
work to household slaves, and in general to manage family
property and affairs for their parents. As "female house mana-
gers" they have a high position in the family.

Young men and women are free to love and to have sex-
836 ual relations provided they do not violate Lolo traditions, such
605 as the interdiction on marriage within the patrilineal clan or
intermarriage between black and white Lolo. Corn fields or
thick grass on the mountain are suitable places for love-making,
especially between cross cousins [48] because of their close
kinship and the encouragement given by the family to cross-cousin

836 marriage. Therefore illicit love between cross-cousins is not
605 prohibited by society. As to the selection of mates, marriage
procedure, the wedding ceremony, and other like subjects,
these will be discussed in the next chapter.

591 When a woman marries, she goes to stay with her hus-
band. They have a small family of their own, living sepa-
592 rately from the husband's parents and managing their own in-
dependent economic life. Upon the birth of a child, they them-
selves begin to assume parental responsibility.

The birthday of a Lolo man is not taken very seriously
527 until he reaches the age of forty. After forty, every birthday
574 is celebrated with a feast for which cattle is killed and pre-
pared for food. Relatives and friends come to congratulate
[431] him with gifts of wine and sweets, while his son-in-law, sis-
ter's son, and others present cloth or cotton goods. The
guests are entertained with food and wine by the host during
a most enjoyable evening for the family.

764 Death and burial has many complicated forms of cere-
182 mony, most of them related to religion and magic. The bur-
[614] ial ceremony is the occasion for the largest clan gathering
and has a great influence on Lolo social life. As death and burial are painful to those who survive, the blood kin of the deceased seem to forget how to act and behave themselves after much crying and wailing; so the neighbors and relatives come to offer their condolences and sympathy, while the formality of the ceremony helps the blood kin to overcome their psychological block‡ and to return gradually to normal life. In the course of time, the burial ceremony becomes conventionalized and its prescribed forms are followed generation after generation. For this reason, it performs the important function of achieving social solidarity and the stabilization of human psychology. Several years ago when an old Lolo of the En-cha branch died, thousands of mourners came from all over Liang Shan to pay tribute, and the event aroused a great deal of excitement. This represents an abnormal aspect of Lolo life and helps to establish equilibrium and make adjustments in their social system. It also shows the close interrelationship between the family and clan kin as well as larger social groups.

‡ [Errata. Should be crisis — analyst.]

[49]

CHAPTER 5

MARRIAGE

582 Lolo society offers no exception to the fact that the starting point of the family organization is the union of the male and female in marriage. Their social tradition gives rise to certain marriage regulations which govern the formation of kin groups as well as the relationship between men and woman in society. Some of the more important regulations are described below.

First, since the class system is strictly observed in
582 the Lolo community, there is absolutely no intermarriage between
564 the black and white Lolo. In other words, they practice class endogamy. Black Lolo males can only have females of the same class; similarly, white Lolo slaves who belong to another class have to choose mates from among members of their own class. The social regulation as such is very
836 rigid, though natural instincts among the sexes may lead to
684 illicit love affairs on certain fortuitous occasions without due
564 regard to the regulation. Such offenses are heavily punished. Thus, when a black Lolo female has unlawful relations with a white Lolo male, both are put to death. The man is forced to commit suicide by leaping into a river or from a rock; the woman takes poison or hangs herself. Within the Liang Shan community, this punishment is enforced very strictly [though there are exceptions like the following]. In 1928, after Yang
836 T'u-szu of Lei-po had passed away, his wife, the daughter of
564 An T'u-szu of Sha-ma, who was then a beautiful and romantic
626 woman of twenty, cohabited with her house manager, a white Lolo named Yang Shou-hsüan. Therefore she was despised
558 by the Lolo, and according to Lolo tradition, both sides should be put to death. Nothing happened, however, because there was no t'u-szu in the district to enforce the penalty. Nevertheless, An T'u-szu of Sha-ma disowned her as his daughter, while the black and white Lolo in her household, no longer considering her as the mistress, all deserted her. Fortunately, the daughter of Yang T'u-szu, named Tai-ti, who is now twenty-two and knows a little about worldly affairs, has been able to restore somewhat the family fortune and prestige which have greatly deteriorated.

836 564 848 While intermarriage between black and white Lolo is customarily prohibited, an illicit relationship between a black Lolo male and white Lolo female is tolerated. The children of such a relationship are called "yellow bones," that is, offspring of "black bone" males and "white bone" females. The "yellow bones" are accepted by neither the black nor the white Lolo, and their social position is quite precarious. It is similar to the position of the mulattoes, the offspring of the White and the Negro in America.

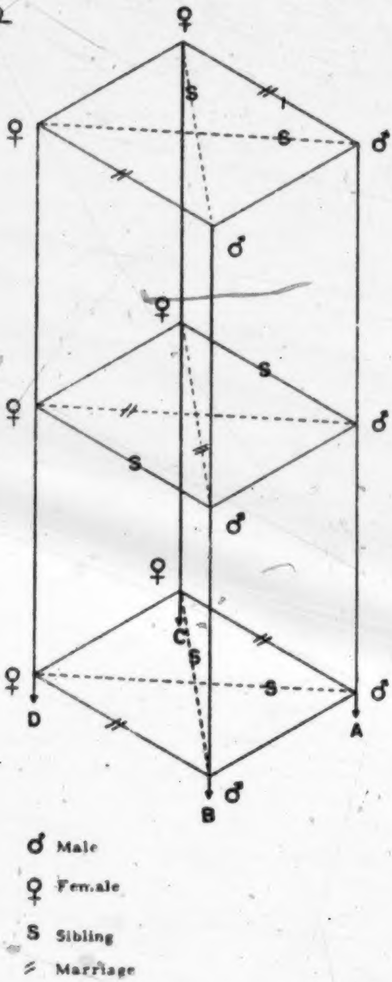
582 614 Secondly, marriage within a Lolo clan is prohibited. All marriages have to be [50] sought outside the clan. This is called clan exogamy. In Chapter 2, clan organization has been described in detail. Through a single-descendant patrilineal family, the Lolo are able to preserve the unity of the clan groups mainly through clan exogamy. According to their tradition, brothers and sisters have a ma dzz gni mo relationship and no marriage is allowed between them. This kind of brother-sister relationship is extended to collateral branches to include father's brother's sons and daughters and eventually all the males and females of the same generation [who are descended from males] within the patrilineal clan, all of whom are strictly prohibited to intermarry.

593 Within the Lolo family, brothers and sisters both grow up under parental protection. Their relationship is affectionate but formal, and licentious behavior between them is absolutely forbidden. Although love affairs are quite common among the Lolo, a brother should not flirt with another girl in front of his sister. Similarly, a man is not allowed to flirt with a girl in the presence of her brother; otherwise her brother would beat him, and their quarrel, once stirred up, might lead to a clan feud. Male and female members of the 602 614 same clan, between whom marriage is prohibited because of age-old traditions, usually behave toward each other in accordance with a formal code of propriety.

582 Thirdly, since the Lolo have to select their mates from within the same class but outside the clan, what kind of family group is the best from which to seek an ideal mate? According to Lolo tradition, the ideal marriage partner is ego's cross-cousin; hence there are numerous cases of cross-cousin marriage. In Lolo families, if a girl's paternal aunt has a boy and the boy's maternal uncle is the father of the girl, then the boy's family has priority in sending a matchmaker to negotiate for the girl's hand. For this reason the maternal uncle dare not marry his daughter into another family. Likewise, the son of a girl's maternal uncle has the

582 same priority over her, a daughter of his paternal aunt. Therefore, there is a mutual marriage relationship between the sons and daughters of the two families. One can find many evidences of this form of cross-cousin marriage from Lolo kinship terms.

601
582 Because of his marriage to maternal uncle's daughter, the boy also calls his father-in-law maternal uncle and his mother-in-law maternal uncle's wife. Hence the son-in-law is also the sister's son. On the other hand, because of her marriage to the son of her paternal aunt's family, the girl calls her husband's mother paternal aunt and her husband's father paternal aunt's husband.



Cross-cousin marriage is not unilateral, but multiple. The boy also sometimes marries the daughter of the paternal aunt; so he calls his mother-in-law paternal aunt and his father-in-law paternal aunt's husband. In this case, the son-in-law is also the wife's brother's son. [51] The girl is sometimes married to the son of the maternal uncle; therefore she calls her husband's parents maternal uncle and maternal uncle's wife. In that case the daughter-in-law is the husband's sister's daughter.

582 [601] Since the Lolo have practiced cross-cousin marriage for generations, there are no special kinship terms of address between wife's parents and son-in-law, and between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. The two clans of the son-in-law and daughter-in-law are bifurcated from the wife's clan, which in turn is bifurcated from the mother's clan. The relationship between the patrilineal and matrilineal clans is the closest as they are continuously interlinked through marriage. To illustrate this interrelationship between cross-cousin marriage and clan organization, the above figure is given.

In the solid rectangle, the three parallelograms represent three generations, namely, father, son, and son's son. The straight lines from the four corners A, B, C, and D denote their descending lineage, the male from father, son, to son's son, and the female from mother, daughter, to daughter's daughter. In the first generation, A and B are two males, each representing a clan and each having a sister. D, the sister of A, is married to B as wife; C, the sister of B, is married to A as wife, that is, A and B marry each other's sister. In the second generation, the children of A and B, because of the priority of cross-cousin [52] marriage, are also mutually matched, so that the son of A marries the daughter of B, and the son of B marries the daughter of A. Thus the children of A and B have a double cross-cousin relationship. To the son of A, the daughter of B is father's sister's daughter as well as mother's brother's daughter. To the daughter of B, the son of A is father's sister's son as well as mother's brother's son. In the third generation, again because of mutual cross-cousin marriage, the relationship reverts to the formula of the first generation. The daughter of A's daughter is married to the son of A's son, and the daughter of B's daughter married to tne son of B's son. Thus each returns to her original clan. In other words, intermarriages between the clans of A and B are all cross-cousin marriages; thus in principle, cross-cousin marriages can be practiced without end from generation to generation.

605
835 Because of their priority in marriage, Lolo cross-cousins treat each other quite differently from the way brothers and sisters treat each other. Cross-cousins of the opposite sex who have preferential marriage privileges can make love freely among themselves; they can play and flirt with each other and eventually have sexual relationships. This is quite different from the strict relationship between brothers and sisters, who never act loosely toward each other. 000 Therefore it can be seen how customs and traditions mold individual

000 behavior and attitudes and how they regulate interpersonal ob-
ligations and duties.

Fourthly, Lolo preferential marriage is limited to
582 cross-cousins, including ego and father's sister's daughter or
605 ego and mother's brother's daughter. As to parallel cousins,
in addition to father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's
daughter and ego are also prohibited from contracting mar-
riage relationships. This prohibition of maternal parallel-
cousin marriage is quite different from the Han-Chinese cus-
tom and may be due to the Lolo emphasis on the maternal
lineage. The children of the maternal aunt are treated in the
same way as the children of the paternal uncle. In the Lolo
[601] language, mother's sister's children are also addressed as
ma dzz gni mo, denoting a relationship similar to that between
brothers and sisters. Therefore they are accorded the same
treatment.

582 To make it easy to understand, a chart is given on the
following page to indicate the marriage relationship or the
interdiction of a marriage relationship between brothers and
sisters of the same generation and between male and female
cousins of different categories.

Fifthly, the Lolo practice the levirate, which means
587 that a man marries the widow of his deceased brother, whether
an elder or younger brother. This tradition is quite different
from the Han-Chinese, but may have the same origin as the
adelphogamy of the Tibetan people, or a variation of it. As a
587 whole the Lolo levirate tends to keep the womenfolk within the
614 clan. Once a woman has entered a clan, she is not supposed
to remarry into another, but can only be transferred by mar-
riage within the clan so that she will remain forever its mem-
ber.

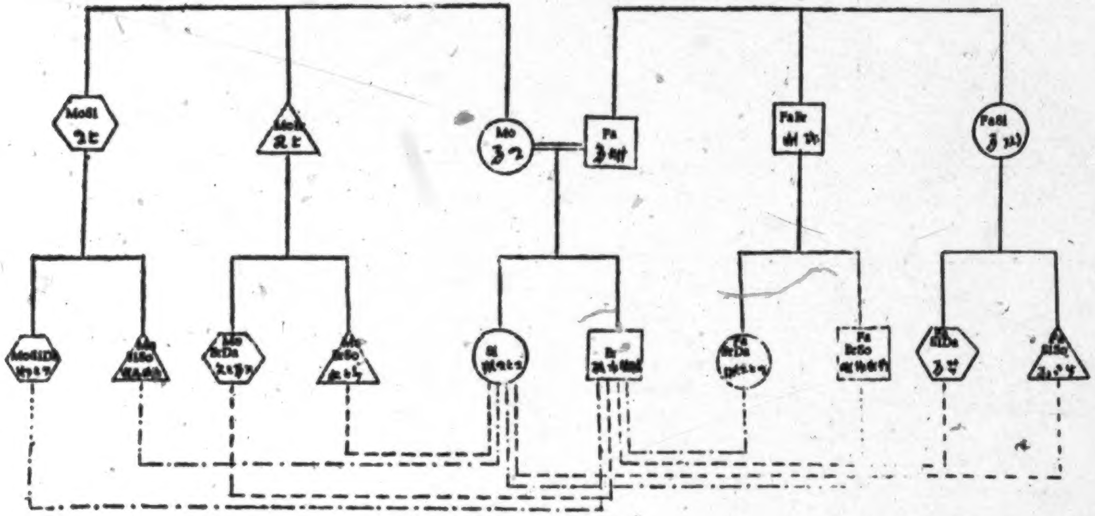
[53 - Chart appears here.]

[54] The levirate is known as "marriage transference
587 within the clan branch." Transferring the marriage to an elder or younger brother of the deceased's generation is considered good form. If there is no blood brother, then a male paternal cousin from the nearest in kinship to the most distant is also acceptable. The practice of marriage transference has had a long history and prevails among the Lolo everywhere. Today the levirate is practiced not only within the same generation, but there is also the practice of the nephew's marrying the widow of father's younger brother or the younger uncle's marrying the widow of brother's son. Cases like these are quite numerous. For example, the wife of our second headman-protector, Li-ch'ü Lao-mu, is En-cha

582

1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

A CHART ON THE MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIP OF CROSS COUSINS AND PARALLEL COUSINS


MoSi
MoBr
Mo
Fa
FaBr
FaSi
MoSiDa
MoSiSo
MoBrDa
MoBrSo
Si
Br
FaBrDa
FaBrSo
FaSiDa
FaSiSo

– – – – – Priority in marriage

–·–·–·– Interdiction in marriage

587 shih, whose parents' family lives in En-cha-wa-hsi. She was first married to the son of Lao-mu's paternal grandfather's younger brother in the Li-ch'ü branch, and bore him a son named Lo-t'ieh. Now twenty years old, Lo-t'ieh is Lao-mu's cousin and only five years younger than Lao-mu. At the time En-cha shih's first husband died, her son Lo-t'ieh was still very young. According to the custom of the levirate, she remarried and became the wife of Lao-mu's father's younger brother, to whom she bore one son now fourteen years old and one girl now eight years old. Four years ago, when his paternal younger uncle died, Lao-mu married the widow, who again gave birth to a female child. So En-cha shih has married three times, but all within her first husband's clan. Her family status and position change each time according to those of her new husband. As to her children, they are ranked according to their father's generation. Thus, Lo-t'ieh is of the same generation as Lao-mu; he has also inherited from his deceased father a house of his own. The children of Lao-mu's paternal uncle now board in the house of Lao-mu's father, Yo-ha. Since his marriage, Lao-mu has a house and an independent family unit of his own.

Marriage transference of a widow is limited mainly to the clan kin of her deceased husband's generation or to his father's younger brother, his brother's son, and others. In the Liang Shan area, there are, however, also cases of the father's marrying son's wife or the son's marrying father's concubine. Cases have even been reported of the grandfather's marrying grandson's wife, but the author never witnessed such a case during his current inspection trip.

The Lolo population is so small that the tradition of marriage transference within the clan branch may also serve the function of solving the population and sex problem. From the standpoint of demography, a woman's remarriage increases the chances for her to have children and clan progeny. From the standpoint of sex, a woman can continue to remarry within the clan after her husband's death — no matter how many husbands she has had — while a man can take a young girl outside the clan or a widow of his own clan for a second wife after the death of the first. For this reason, the Lolo,
[589] whether male or female, can have sexual fulfillment in life and there are no widows or widowers in Lolo society.

595 Sixthly, monogamy is the general marriage pattern of the Lolo. Occasionally, but very seldom, they practice polygyny, which moreover is limited to Lolo chiefs and
[554] wealthy families

596 wealthy families. Polyandry is prohibited in Lolo society; but
because of their loose sexual concept, polyandry is sometimes
secretly practiced. Young girls in their teens could have free
[836] love and intercourse with young men, especially male cross-cousins
with whom they disport and have fun. This will be discussed
in more detail later on.

595 [55] Polygyny is often motivated by the political ambition
of Lolo leaders who want to expand their influence through
557 the connections of their wives' families. Hu Hsing-min, for
example, was one of them. Considering that the influence of
Li-ch'ü shih's branch alone was not strong enough for him,
he also married Wu-ch'i shih to increase his power and status
through connection with the Wu-ch'i branch. In a Lolo polygnous
595 family, wives have equal social status. They call each
other sisters. Without regard to their own ages, the first
wife is the elder sister and the second wife the younger sister.
Each wife has a separate household and property, unlike the
Han-Chinese, among whom wife and concubine stay together
but have unequal social position. Before the Lolo man takes
a second wife, he has to appease his first wife by offering her
oxen or sheep, or sometimes a horse. He also has to reach
[607] an understanding with his wife's brothers by entertaining them
with food and wine. Without their consent in advance, he may
run into trouble and have disputes that will develop into a clan
feud.

As a whole, these marriage practices not only regulate
581 the Lolo's sexual life and their kinship and clan structure,
but also their daily behavior and even their political and economic
activities. The marriage relationship has the same
importance in Lolo society as in other societies. Marriage
is the biggest event and the most important transitional stage
in life as a young man and woman go from love to marriage
and from marriage to the establishment of the family.

000 Adolescence is the beginning of the sexual period, during
which, no matter whether male or female, all are eager
to act. But every society has its own traditions, and the behavior
of the male and female is subject to their influence.
582 Lolo customs prefer early marriage. The woman's marriageable
age is usually odd-numbered, the favored age being nine,
eleven, thirteen, fifteen, seventeen, and nineteen. During
302 her childhood the girl usually keeps her hair in a single braid
884 behind the head. At the time of marriage, she changes her
hair style to two braids doubled up on the head. Therefore,
a double braid and a single braid serve respectively as symbols
of the married and unmarried women. But if a girl is

302 884 seventeen and still not married, then her parents will usually set a date to hold a ceremony for the girl to have her braid parted and doubled. During the ceremony they kill sheep, pigs, and other animals to entertain relatives and friends. It signifies that henceforth the girl has come of age and can have sexual freedom without interference.

836 Whether in a forest or thicket, whether beside the mountain stream or in wild fields, a young Lolo male and female could make love to each other. Provided that they do not violate marriage traditions, unmarried male and female could have affairs among themselves. This is especially true of cross-cousins who, because of their preferential marriage privilege and close contact due to kinship, could freely make love, and illicit affairs have always developed.

584 As a first step in marriage, the parents usually make the selection and then send a matchmaker to do the negotiating. Originally the matchmakers were mostly white Lolo slaves. If the paternal aunt or the maternal uncle has a daughter, matchmaking is fairly easy; there being mutual obligation on both sides, they dare not [56] make any commitment with another clan. After a mate has been chosen, the matchmaker [787] will get the consent of the girl's family to ask a pi-mu to match the horoscopes of the intended couple and to divine whether the marriage would be auspicious or not. If it is found to be unlucky, the matchmaker will not come back again. Sometimes, because of their kin relationship or because of the attraction of the girl's looks, the two families would disregard the result of fortune-telling or divination and proceed with the marriage anyway.

583 After both families have agreed to the marriage, the matchmaker then goes back and forth between the two to negotiate for the betrothal gift or money. The amount of cash to be paid by the man's family depends upon the family's financial ability. Generally, a black Lolo family pays a betrothal gift of from 500 to 700 or 800 ounces of silver. (At the time of the author's stay in Lei-po, one ounce of silver was equal to 160 dollars of Chinese national currency.) Sometimes the betrothal gift may be as much as 1,000 ounces. Because of their low social status, the white Lolo pay only 100 or 200 ounces of silver. [567] For the daughters of household slaves who accompany the mistress in marriage, no gift is necessary.

584 After the betrothal money is settled, then comes the engagement. First, the man's family sends the matchmaker and others of the household with gifts to the girl's family. At that time only a part of the betrothal money, usually about

584 one-third, is paid. It is given personally by the matchmaker to the head of the household, either the girl's father or elder brother. To entertain the matchmaker and the others, a sheep is killed and wine provided. They talk together at night and the visitors stay on until the next morning. Several days later the girl's family sends someone to return the visit but without bringing any gifts. The man's family also has to kill cattle and entertain him with wine and ask him to stay overnight.

Several months and sometimes several years intervene between the engagement and marriage. It depends on the time when the man's family wants to receive the bride. Before the wedding, the family invites a *pi-mu* to choose an auspicious [777] date and at the same time makes the announcement through the matchmaker to the girl's family. The latter then sends a [583] person to collect the remaining portion of the betrothal money, which is paid in full. Sometimes the man's family keeps the last installment to be paid after the marriage. Oxen, horses, guns, and other things may be offered in lieu of silver. Because of this heavy expense in marriage gifts, the Lolo do not want the girl to remarry outside the clan if her husband should die before her. She is allowed only to transfer the marriage within the clan to avoid losing the benefits of the betrothal money.

585 Lolo families usually set the wedding date for an odd-numbered month, such as the fifth, seventh, ninth, or eleventh, as most suitable for the ceremony. Two days before the wedding, the man's family dispatches several strong adults, preferably also in an odd number, to the girl's family to carry back the dowry which includes the bride's garments and ornaments, such as skirts, felt coats, necklaces, bracelets, earrings, and the like. When the men arrive at the house of the girl's family, they are seized by the men and women there, and their faces are smeared with black soot in a spirit of gaiety.

On the eve of the wedding, the man's family again dispatches several strong adults, sometimes more than ten, including brothers of the groom, to the girl's family to welcome the bride. Hearing the arrival of these adults, all the male and female members of the bride's family gather at the door to await their approach. As soon as they [57] come to the door, they are splattered with water and completely drenched. Then they all break into laughter at the prank. After entering the door, the men from the groom's family, being unprepared, are again smeared on the face with soot from the bottom of the stove and sprinkled and smitten on the eyes and nose with pepper in an utmost display of frolicsome activity. That same

585 night the men are entertained with food and wine in a big feast
and gradually a state of conviviality settles on both guests and
hosts.

[585] On the morning of the wedding day, the bride begins to
291 bedeck herself. She wears a fresh flower-like turban on her
head. According to Lolo custom, the turban a young girl wears
is folded into a pocket-like triangle, its end tied to the back of
[882] the head. Upon coming of age, she wears the turban in a different
way with the ends sticking up in front of the ears; sometimes
she wears a four-cornered turban lying flat on the head,
two of its corners hanging down on the right and left of the forehead,
the other two corners on two sides in back of the head,
and the whole looking like four pieces of reversed flower petals.
After the woman has a child, she no longer wears this kind of
headgear and has a plain hat instead. Besides the flower-like
585 turban, the bride is also decked out with earrings, neck ornaments,
301 and silver buttons. She usually wears a new dress
291 with lace, a skirt of various colors, and a newly-made felt
coat. All in all, she looks as graceful as a great beauty.

585 After having bedecked herself, the bride starts her
journey. The men from the groom's family and the men and
women of the bride's family all press forward to support and
accompany her on the way to the groom's house, outside of
which a thatched awning has previously been put up. The
[302] bride is led inside the awning where the ceremony to separate
her braid is conducted by the female members of the bridal
party, that is, her single braid is parted and made into a
double braid to signify her status as newly married. On that
day the groom's family provides wine and kills animals to
feast the members of the bridal party. Guests and hosts sing
and dance hilariously and do not disperse until after all have
thoroughly enjoyed themselves.

585 It seems that the groom does not play an important
567 role in the wedding ceremony. Nor does the bride sleep with
him on the night of the wedding. At the marriage of a black
Lolo, the bride must have several white Lolo maids to accompany
and wait on her. For instance, the eldest daughter
of Mrs. Hu, nee Li-ch'ü, of Wu-chio is only eleven years old
and still her mother has already provided two maids to wait
on her day and night. Later when she gets married, the maids
will go with her as a part of the dowry. The maids who accompany
the mistress to her husband's house will then marry
the male slaves of the master. For three nights the bride
stays at the groom's house in the same room with her maids
but without making any contact with the groom.

585 On the fourth day the bride returns to her parents'
house with the groom. They do not talk to each other on the
way. Upon arrival, the new son-in-law greets his parents-in-law
with offerings of sheep, pigs, and wine and is in turn entertained
with wine by them. The same afternoon he returns
591 home without the bride, who remains in her parents' home.
This custom is called *tso-chia*, meaning "staying home."

The *tso-chia* period varies from one or two years to
three or five. During this inspection trip [58], the author frequently
met brides who had been staying home with their parents.
[837] While there, she can enjoy a loose romantic life without
being interfered with by father or elder brothers who pretend
to pay no attention to her. During her stay with her parents,
she wears the same dress as the bride. Day and night she
chases and plays around with the young men of the neighborhood
or her male cross cousins. She, too, enjoys sexual freedom.

During the same period the groom can also contact the
bride and make love. It is only when the bride becomes pregnant
843 that the groom takes her to his father's house. The first
848 child usually is not the child of the groom, but he has to recognize
it as his child.

592 Having learned that his bride is pregnant, the groom
immediately sets out to build a new house for the bride to live
in as no married son can stay in the same house with his parents.
[583] After the husband and wife have formally lived together,
the wife's father's family then sends the entire dowry to them.
[428] Among the Lolo, both male and female have the right of inheritance;
therefore, the daughter's dowry is also a part of the
property given her by her parents. It includes silver, slaves,
food, oxen, sheep, and even land.

594 Because of this marriage relationship, the Lolo newlyweds
have the economic basis to establish a family. The
583 house built for them by the parents of the man's family and the
dowry sent by the girl's family all provide the economic conditions
necessary for establishing a family. After that, the
couple live a normal family life, both male and female cooperating
in efforts for economic improvement. They bear
and rear children to shoulder the common parental responsibility.

593 Although a Lolo wife is obtained through money payment
562 and her marriage is one form of bartered marriage, she
has the same position in the family as the man. Since they
have a small family and do not live with the husband's parents,
there is no problem of conflict between mother-in-law and

593 daughter-in-law. The wife has the full authority to manage
562 household affairs because the husband is always away making political contacts, fighting clan feuds, or other activities. Assigning the slaves to such household work as farming,
[462] cattle-breeding, weaving, cooking, taking care of the children, storage of food, repairing tools, and others is all done and supervised by the mistress of the house.

593 The outward relationship between husband and wife is formal. They do not speak to each other carelessly or laugh without cause. When Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, the headman-protector of our inspection team, returned home after having been away for three months, he did not say a single word to his wife En-cha shih when they first met. They looked as though they had never seen each other before. On the other hand, Ta-chi's brothers and sisters all ran in to greet him, talking and laughing intimately. It was only after the clan members had dispersed that Ta-chi had a tête-à-tête with his wife. Much exhausted after the long journey, he lay down on the floor to doze off as En-cha shih sat beside the stove, smoking and talking incessantly. [59] Apparently she was reporting what had happened at home during his absence. Although his eyes were closed, Ta-chi listened quietly, sometimes interrupting her with a few words as though to comfort or to criticize. At that time, the inspection personnel and the interpreters had gone elsewhere, but I was too fatigued from travel to go outside. So I was also sitting on the ground to rest and had a chance to observe their conversation.

593
562
614 Being built on a solid economic basis, the Lolo family has no worries about daily food and clothing. This stabilized life makes husband and wife live together harmoniously and pass their days in peace and ease. Sometimes, however, their relationship may become strained and conflict arise. In such a case, the husband dare not mistreat or beat his wife because of her strong family background. If the wife should
[628] rush back to her parents' home to complain of ill treatment from her husband, her clan members would immediately gather together to organize a punitive force. If the husband's clan offers any resistance, then the conflict would develop into a clan feud. So due to the support of her parents' clan, the wife occupies quite a high status in the family.

586 The wife seldom elopes with another man. When it happens, the husband can request his parents-in-law to repay the betrothal money. The latter do their best to find the woman and return her to her husband. On the other hand, if the husband does not like his wife or if he has another woman and

586 wants to divorce his wife, then her family would demand that apologies and payments be made to her. When there is no other alternative, husband and wife can have a divorce and live separately, but first they have to negotiate through a mediator the number of slaves and the portion of land and other property the husband should leave his wife to give her economic independence. When both sides agree, then they can get a divorce. During the husband's lifetime, the di-
587 vorced woman cannot remarry, and her clan cannot hope to transfer her in marriage.

To sum up, there is a close relationship between mar-
581 riage and the clan family in Lolo society. Marriage is not a
614 consummation of love between male and female — young lovers do not often become lifelong partners — but is the alliance of two clans and an instrument of their co-operation. At the same time, the economic factors in marriage tend to stabilize family life. Hence marriage is a cooperative interclan contract; with their respective clan backgrounds, husband and wife enjoy equal status in the marriage relationship.

[60] CHAPTER 6

ECONOMIC LIFE

592 The family constitutes the main unit of Lolo daily economic life and the family economy is built on the basis of marriage relationship. Young unmarried members of the family who have to depend upon their parents for support are not independent economically. At the time of marriage, the groom's 581 parents provide house and land while the bride's parents provide the dowry and other property to give the newlyweds a material basis on which to build their own family. Therefore marriage is also a part of the economic structure, by which society helps the young couple to establish the basic economic conditions and encourages cooperative efforts by the husband and wife in managing the family's economic life.

000 Generally speaking, economic organization can be divided into three stages, namely, production, distribution, and consumption. This kind of classification, however, is not applicable to a primitive society whose economic problems are quite different from ours. Lolo material culture, which has passed the hunting and fishing stage, is no longer in the simplest and most primitive form; nevertheless, their agricultural and cattle-breeding economy does not lend itself easily to categorical analysis. For example, a typical Lolo family owns some arable land, on which cultivated corn, buckwheat, and other grains,which the family uses to make cakes and dried food for its own consumption. In such case, the boundary between production and consumption is very difficult to delimit. To take another example: except for the entertainment of guests on special occasions, the festival to send off the Buddha [see p. 116] provides one of the rare opportunities for the Lolo to distribute meat to their family members. But this occasion for meat distribution is closely related to religion and magic, and no borderline can be drawn to define the respective activities. Therefore from the sociological point of view, there is only one overall economic process, whose two aspects are the seizure of material products and their utilization. Economic function,which actually has much sociological significance,is not limited to the production and consumption of wealth. To understand the economic structure of the

000 Lolo family, one should not attempt a strict demarcation of the several economic processes.

No matter how simple the society is, its economic structure is always based on the division of labor. [61] In other words, each individual in a social group has a special task to perform. Even in a fishing and hunting community, a division of labor between the male and female is very common. The man goes out hunting while the woman stays home to cook or to pick fruit in the neighborhood. In an agricultural and pastoral society, the division of labor between male and female is not as strictly defined as in the hunting and fishing community. Sometimes, as among the Pueblo Indians, the male takes the entire responsibility of agricultural labor; sometimes, as among the African Bathonga, the female assumes this responsibility. Among the Ifugao of the Philippines, the male is in charge of cultivation and harvest while the female does the weeding and gardening. In agricultural affairs
462 Lolo men and women cooperate in every way and work shoulder to shoulder in the field. But in some work there is still a division of labor. For example, magic and praying for rain are performed by men, with the pi-mu as leader, whereas cooking and carrying water are women's jobs, which the men take over only on special occasions. Other activities indirectly related to economic life, such as fighting, robbing, stealing, and so forth, belong to the men's province.

463 Besides the division of labor by sex, there is also in the
564 Lolo community a division of labor by class. Originally it had no direct bearing on economic life, that is, Lolo society was not divided into classes because of the differences in economic life or in occupation. The fact that the black Lolo nobles possess large tracts of land and ruling power while the white Lolo slaves are confined to menial work is actually the result of class distinction.

463 Cultivation, whether of corn in dry lands or of rice in wet fields, is the sole responsibility of the white Lolo. The
564 black Lolo never participate in any farm work. On the other
233 hand, although animal husbandry is also the duty of the white Lolo, the black Lolo often do it themselves. During the visit of the inspection team to Huang-mao Kang, we met a black Lolo, A-cho Shih-chio, tending a flock of 20 to 30 sheep with a white Lolo slave. Shih-chio was the benefactor of our interpreter, Wang Chü-sung. After an introduction, he accompanied us for several days, during which we strolled, talked, and laughed together, and became well acquainted. So I have had a chance to observe Shih-chio's life as a shepherd and to learn that the

463 black Lolo tend sheep themselves and do not consider animal
564 husbandry a mean job as farming is. Furthermore,
every year during the shearing season, the black Lolo usually
233 participate in the work; they especially take the leading
part in the "wool fair" at Huang-mao Kang.

The fact that the Lolo look down upon farming gives the
174 author the impression that animal husbandry was originally the
564 main economic activity of the black Lolo and that the Lolo were
formerly a pastoral people. It was only after the conquest of the white Lolo and the capture of the Han-Chinese as slaves that the black Lolo started farming by forcing the conquered people to cultivate the land. Most of the white Lolo were originally Han-Chinese [62] who, having lived in the Lolo territory for many years, forgot their Han-Chinese ancestry and considered themselves as Lolo. This point will be discussed in detail in the subsequent chapter, "Classes." Here it suffices to mention briefly that the difference in the Lolo attitude towards grazing and farming may be attributed to the differences in the former economic life of the black and white Lolo, or in the relationship of the conqueror and conquered.

241 Agriculture, however, is the most popular enterprise
564 in the Lolo area today. Although the black Lolo do not cultivate
[162] the land themselves, the white Lolo, who constitute 80 to 90 per cent of the total population, are all engaged in farming.
Provisions for both black and white Lolo depend upon the produce from the fields. In other words, agriculture is the main economic stay of the Lolo who have, however, a special system of their own in agricultural activity.

423 In Lolo villages, all arable land is the property of the
black Lolo. Due to the many divisions and branches within the
564 clan, to the new economic units formed by the grown-up children at the time of their marriage, and to the inheritance of land by male heirs after the death of their father or grandfather, each black Lolo family has its own plot of land. In other words, the right of land ownership is geared to the family unit. This, however, applies only to the arable land for agricultural production and is quite different from the outlying village land, which has no clear-cut boundaries. The
423 village district includes the dwellings, the land or field encircling
621 each house, the outer grazing land, and even the
forests, mountain streams, and rivers. Actually only the house and the field constitute the land owned by each family, while the outlying pasture and forest are the common property of the entire village. Everybody has the right to use them, including all outside people who are not clan enemies. Different

423 Lolo groups usually have many enemies, particularly those in
62] neighboring villages. Clan enemies are prohibited from enter-
[619] ing the village. Whenever they cross the border and are dis-
covered, they are usually killed or captured. Therefore, although the boundary of each village is not distinctly drawn, there is always a neutral fringe area where the people of both villages, if they happen to be enemies, dare not trespass. This kind of boundary has a tribal political significance, quite different from the family-owned land.

The black Lolo master employs household slaves to
567] cultivate the land. In case the number of slaves has increased considerably and the house is too small for them, the master sends those who have served him faithfully for a long time to build houses of their own in separate units. The master may
[425 give each family a certain amount of land or the family may
427] rent some arable land to supply its needs. Gradually, after a long period of time, the slave would be freed economically from his master's control; he would have his own land to cultivate and his own household to manage. [63] Hence there
[571] are today in the Lolo villages many independent white Lolo
[621] households which, except that they have to accept the rule and protection of the black Lolo and to assume certain responsibilities and duties, have a self-supporting economic life. These white Lolo are called "subjects" (*pai-hsing*) by those who have been Sinicized. Actually the "subjects" are still slaves, although they have a higher social position than the household slaves.

241 The Lolo have no unit for measuring land which is al-
[804] ways referred to in terms of pieces or sections without any reference to the exact acreage. Therefore it is very difficult to estimate the area of their cultivated land. It is possible, however, to get a general idea of the acreage through the cultivation or production figures for each piece of land. Take, for instance, corn, the most important agricultural product in the Lolo area. On the average, a person is able to cultivate each year from 6 *sheng* [a *sheng* is equivalent to 31.6 cubic inches] to 2 *tou* [a *tou* is 10 *sheng*] of corn seed. Both *sheng*
[177] and *tou* are measurements adopted from the Han-Chinese. If the 6-*sheng* cultivation unit is taken as the basis of calculation, then the harvest will be around 40 market *tou*. In the districts around southern Szechwan, the average yield for one *mu* [about one-sixth of an acre] of land is about 15 market *tou*. So 40 *tou* is equivalent to the yield of two and a half *mu*, which is therefore the minimum cultivated acreage per person in the Lolo area.

567 While farming is done by household slaves, all farm
422 products belong to the black Lolo master. This is so because
even the slaves themselves are considered a part of the master's property. If there is more land than can be cultivated,
427 it can be rented out to white Lolo "subjects" who do not have
567 sufficient land of their own. The latter usually pay half of the
produce as rent and keep the other half. Sometimes if the land is unusually fertile and productive, the landlord gets 60 per cent of the produce and the tenant 40 per cent. This ratio is somewhat similar to the agricultural system of the feudal period in China. The black Lolo can be compared to the feudal
564 lords, the household slaves to the serfs, and the "subjects"
567 to the tenants. Although economically self-supporting, the so-
466 called "subjects" are bound to the black Lolo by other ties and
their status is not completely independent. During the busy farming season the black Lolo master could order his "subjects" to send one person from each family to help the household slaves in cultivation and harvest. The helpers are not paid by wage or otherwise recompensed. It is their obligation to work for their black Lolo master, who at most would only provide them with meals during their working period.

243 The main products of Lolo agriculture are corn and
buckwheat. Rice cultivation in wet fields is limited to the
567 I-ch'ê Ho and Mei-ku Ho region and its yield is quite low. All
the rice farming is done by Han-Chinese slaves as rice is not the indigenous culture of the Lolo, whose agriculture is still limited to dry land cultivation. Although its origin is not [64] known, there is no doubt that agricultural products provide the main source of food for Lolo families.

243 The routine of corn planting is a form of adaptation by the Lolo to the weather and natural environment. During late spring when the weather is warm, the Lolo start seeding. The seeds are planted on high mountain slopes in the third month of the lunar year, and on the plains in the fourth month. Before seeding, the Lolo farmers dig in the field small holes, in each of which are sown six or seven to a dozen or more seeds. These are wrapped with mud before they are worked into the soil. After seven or eight days they begin to sprout. The seedlings are examined for quality and only two are allowed to grow in each hole, the rest being pulled out. If there are less than two seedlings, the missing one will be replaced. Weeding begins a month later with both men and women working together in the field. After the weeds have been cleared, the field is fertilized with either dried cattle manure as in the Ta-liang Shan region or with fresh manure as in the Hsiao-liang

243 Shan region. Weeding and fertilizing come to an end after two to three months when the corn stalks begin to shoot up. Then a constant watch is set up over the fields to keep wild or domestic animals from trampling on the corn and also to prevent its destruction and burning by enemies. An important factor for the growth of corn is the weather, as rain is needed from time to time. In a drought year the *pi-mu* is invited to pray for rain to spur growth. The corn ripens in the eighth month when it is time for harvest. With bamboo baskets on their backs, men and women line up in the field to pick and gather the corn into the baskets. The corn is brought back to the [251] house and dried in the sun, after which the grains are removed from the cob and stored in the master's bedroom. [252 Every day corn is freshly ground to flour to make corn cakes, 262] which constitute the main food.

[372] After harvest, the corn stalks are cut for fuel for household use, while the stumps and roots are left to rot in the field. In a comparatively good field, it takes little re- 244 conditioning before garden peas, beans, and sometimes wheat can be planted. These are harvested in the third month of the next year after winter is over. Peas and wheat are both pulled up by the root. By that time the roots of the corn have already rotted and both men and women return once more to the field to weed and to loosen the soil in preparation for the next round of corn planting.

243 The fields surrounding the village, because of their [311 fertilized soil, are mostly planted with corn. On the moun- 262] tain slopes buckwheat is planted. It is also an important food of the Lolo, especially in the Ta-liang Shan area, where more buckwheat is produced than corn. There are two kinds of buckwheat: the sweet and the bitter. The sweet buckwheat is not necessarily sweet whereas the bitter buckwheat is quite bitter. Both are unpleasant in taste. The area for planting buckwheat was originally a wild tract covered with dense undergrowth. To cultivate it, the bushes are set afire and reduced to ashes; then the soil is loosened with ox plows for seeding. There are two buckwheat crops each year. For the first season, seeding starts in the second month in early spring. After planting, the field is again worked over with ox plows and then left alone [65] until harvest in the fourth or fifth month. For the second season, seeds are sown in the seventh month and crops harvested in the ninth. After several years, the soil begins to deteriorate and the field is discarded for a new tract of burned land on the slopes. This method of cultivation, mentioned in the gazetteers as the slash-and-burn method, is of a rather primitive kind.

241 Besides corn and buckwheat, other agricultural products
include oats, potatoes, green vegetables, and turnips,
each of which has its proper harvest season. Among them,
[252] oats are considered the most precious. The Lolo usually
grind them into flour and mix it with water to eat on a trip.
Potatoes are produced in large quantities to be used as auxiliary
food.

241 Lolo agriculture is aimed at self-sufficiency only.
461 The people will be quite satisfied if production each year is
enough to meet the demands of consumption. The Lolo do not
311 work hard on the farms, nor do they want to expand the cultivated
acreage or to improve agricultural techniques. So the
good earth of Liang Shan still remains a tract of barren land.

[423] Every Lolo family has its own cultivated field, which
237 constitutes its basic property. The wealth of a black Lolo
556 household, however, is measured by the herd of animals it owns.
Animals are also raised by the rich white Lolo. Domesticated
233 animals consist largely of sheep and goats, pastured by household
343 slaves. The sheep pen is inside the walls of the house but
sometimes also outside as a separate unit. In spring and summer
when the weather becomes warm, a round bamboo stable
is built on the mountain slope outside the village to house the
flocks of sheep. These are watched over day and night by
household slaves. Besides grazing, the sheep are fed salt
water twice or thrice a month to stimulate the growth of wool,
used mainly as material for making capes. Shearing is performed
three times a year between the third and tenth month;
236 the wool cut in the third month is the best in quality. In the
527 hot seventh month, people from villages in different places
571 drive their flocks to Huang-mao Kang, partly to cool off and
partly to cut the wool. At that time different clans and villages
assemble to feast and play together after shearing. They exchange
gifts and food, trade or barter, and talk and laugh in
these semisocial gatherings. It is a very grand affair, popularly
called the "wool fair."

231 Pigs are also raised in flocks of ten or more and
tended by female household slaves, but pig breeding is not as
[237 popular as sheep breeding. After the pigs are killed, the
439] bristles are shaved off from head and body for export to the
Han-Chinese territory.

The Lolo also raise the common yellow oxen in herds
of as many as several dozens. They are driven to the pastures
outside the village in the early morning and returned to the
stable in the evening. The oxen can be used for plowing and
are more expensive than sheep and pigs. The Lolo do not

231 The Lolo do not [262] drink milk but eat beef. The killing of an ox is considered a big occasion.

[564] Horses are the monopoly of the black Lolo, but are not driven in herds. The black Lolo use them for riding and hunting or for sports and racing. [66] The horse is the most precious animal, and its meat is not eaten.

Oxen, horses, pigs, and sheep, which are the most important domestic animals of the Lolo, constitute a part of their property with considerable economic value. Except for 262 the horse, the meat of oxen, sheep, and pigs can all be used for food. The daily meal of the Lolo is ordinarily limited to grains and vegetables. As to meat they have a different method of distribution. During the several festivals each year, such 262 as the wool fair, the New Year, and the farewell party to the 574 Buddha, they have to kill animals for sacrifice, after which members of the family gather to share in the sacrificial meat. On occasions such as weddings and funerals, they also divide the meat as a gift and eat and drink together. In cases of sickness, exorcising, drought, and praying for rain, they use magic to stabilize the disturbed emotions of the people, while at the same time they kill animals as sacrifices and gather together the clan members for a big feast. From the practical point of view, this kind of festival and entertainment is a traditional social device to give the people an opportunity to have an equal share of meat.

224 The economic life of the Lolo is basically agricultural and pastoral. Hunting, however, is also practiced. Groups of young Lolo would sometimes roam the wild mountains and forests to hunt tigers, leopards, and deer. Before the expedi- [787 tion they would consult the diviner on its result. The food 262] from the animals they have captured is enjoyed together.

In industry, the building of a new house is considered 342 a major event. First, the builder assembles his clan members and neighbors and in their presence selects a date for building. Then, as an expression of united effort and mutual help, they all work together to build the mud wall, the wooden frames, the roof, and finally the walled fortress. Crafts, 463 such as the making of capes, ornaments, furniture, agricultural tools, wooden utensils, bamboo baskets, etc., are usually done by one or two persons. Only enough products are made to meet local household needs.

House, farm, and other immobile property are handed 438 down as a family inheritance from father to son. They are not traded as commodities on the market. On the other hand, cattle, agricultural products, clothing and ornaments, furniture,

438 utensils, and the like have considerable mobility in the Lolo
community. Han-Chinese slaves constitute the most important
[567] commodity for transactions. Traditionally, the Lolo are not
574 interested in business dealings, but are most hospitable in
entertaining guests. Even today all Lolo people, except clan
enemies, can get free lodging and board anywhere in their region.
The entertainment of strangers has become a custom
which no host can neglect. Every year the Lolo of Hsiao-liang
Shan always take a trip to Ta-liang Shan to visit fellow clan
members or friends and relatives. During their travels, they
can stop at any house on the way and are assured of entertainment
by the host. No matter what kind of food is served, it
is shared equally between host and guest, and no one is allowed
to enjoy it by himself. The miser is despised by society and
[577] not tolerated by tradition.

[67] The custom of entertaining guests is so common
574 that sometimes in order to meet the demands of custom the
576 host has to treat rather cordially any stranger who comes to
578 him, even though he may not like him personally. Otherwise
the stranger might get angry and do something mean to him,
and the incident may even lead to a clan feud. It is also a
574 common social custom for the Lolo to share his food with those
576 who are present instead of enjoying it alone. This custom,
when carried to extremes, becomes compulsory and rather
inconvenient to people. I still remember when the inspection
team reached Ting-chia P'ing in Liang Shan, we stayed at the
house of the black Lolo, Ting Yü-k'e. Our headman-protector,
Ta-chi, had with him a slave who was a wine carrier, but instead
of taking him to the house, Ta-chi hid him on the
mountain. I asked the interpreter about this and learned that
if the wine carrier should stay with the Ting family, then the
wine had to be shared by all present and it would be gone before
it could be transported to San-ho-i-ta.

574 This kind of hospitality is observed mutually according
to social etiquette. In the wild Liang Shan region where the
182 population is sparse and traveling difficult because of the lack
of modern hotels and teahouses, the villagers entertain strangers
who travel there with the expectation that someday when
they themselves are on the road they will receive similar
treatment from the different clan families in other villages.
Therefore we know that the entertainment of strangers, like
many other aspects of a primitive society, is a kind of social
structure designed for adaptation to a special environment.

431 In the preceding chapter on marriage, we have mentioned
182 that the exchange of gifts between the bride's and the

431 groom's families is a kind of economic trade. Ordinarily relatives 182 and friends also exchange gifts during each other's visits. This custom helps to adjust the distribution of products and handicrafts in the society. During the inspection team's stay at Liang Shan, except for a few poor white Lolo families who asked for silver in exchange for food, the majority of Lolo families all voluntarily prepared food for us by killing oxen, sheep, chickens, and pigs, or by boiling corn and potatoes, the kind of entertainment given us varying with the economic situation of each family. The inspection team usually estimated the amount of expenses incurred by the host and then gave him in return such gift articles as cloth, salt, scissors, mirrors, needles, and thread.

177 The distribution of wealth and goods among the Lolo was originally based on the principle of entertaining strangers and 436 exchanging gifts. Since their contact with the Han-Chinese, however, a trade system has gradually developed. The medium of exchange is silver, measured by the ounce or in ingots. This traditional Han-Chinese system has now penetrated deeply into the Lolo community and is used consistently. Lolo currency is quite influential in the border area. Silver coins are still widely circulated in P'ing-shan and P'ing-i Ch'ang east of the Lolo territory.

439 The Lolo go to Han-Chinese cities or towns to buy commodities, the main items being salt, wine, cloth, and other articles of daily use. Lei-po, P'ing-pien, and Hsi-ning are all important trading towns for the Han-Chinese and the Lolo, who continuously [68] visit this area. The twelve En-cha branches use Ma-pien and Hsi-ning as their trading centers, while the A-lo, A-cho, and the nine Sinicized Lolo families trade mostly in Lei-po.

The Lolo territory being beyond the control of the [349] county government in border areas, the Lolo have been engaged in opium planting in recent years. The opium is exported and sold in the Han-Chinese territory with enormous profits. Therefore the Lolo's economic conditions are above [511] those of the average Han-Chinese. The Lolo use the revenue from opium to trade for guns and silver in the Han-Chinese territory. In the early years of the Republic, when Yang Ch'un-fang's troops were stationed at Lei-po, they sold guns to the Lolo for a huge profit. Since then arms have flowed [411] continuously into Liang Shan with the result that today nearly every Lolo household has a gun. As the circulation of silver money is prohibited by the government in the Han-Chinese territory, the ruffians there are engaged in the lucrative

439 business of transporting the contraband silver pieces to Liang
Shan. From the Lolo point of view, opium alone is enough to
exchange for white silver, guns, and all the commodities of
daily use.

To plant opium, the Lolo have to select a fertile field.
439 An increase in the production of opium causes a corresponding
464 decrease in agricultural products. The planting of opium
reduces soil fertility and the land gradually becomes impoverished.
[567] Because of the scarcity of manpower, the Lolo kidnapped
Han-Chinese from the border area as slaves to engage
in large-scale production of opium. There is a fixed time for
the planting of opium and its harvest. During this period, they
import from the border region a large Han-Chinese labor force,
which they send out of the Lolo territory after the job is done.
Once I met an old man of about fifty at a teahouse in Ma-liu
Wan. From the conversation, I learned that during March,
1943, the old man and over 80 other Han-Chinese laborers had
entered the Lolo area with armed protection by black Lolo
leaders to gather the opium crop at the northern part of the
Ma-ching-tzu area. Their wages were paid according to the
[465] amount of opium they harvested. For every eight ounces of
opium, one ounce was paid as wages. Every day the old man
harvested about 20 ounces of opium and earned a wage of two
and a half ounces. After harvest the opium was exported for
439 sale in the Han-Chinese territory. At that time opium was
sold in the Lolo region at the rate of one piece of silver, or
about 1,000 dollars in Chinese national currency, for every
three ounces of opium. When it was imported into Han-Chinese
territory, one ounce was worth 600 Chinese dollars and
three ounces 1,800 Chinese dollars. The profit being almost
double, the ruffians in the border area would risk their lives
to go to the Lolo region to import opium. When the inspection
team stayed at Liang Shan, many Lolo thought that we were
opium merchants. This shows how popular the opium trade
is between the Han-Chinese and the Lolo.

The slaves are a part of Lolo property and can be
567 traded as commodities at a market price. They are mostly
721 Han-Chinese, newly captured from the Chinese territory. It
is a common practice for the Lolo to capture and kill Han-Chinese
in the border area, such incidents having occurred
quite frequently in the border districts of Lei-po, Ma-pien,
P'ing-shan, and O-pien, especially [69] in Lei-po. Many
areas visited by the author, such as the southern part of Hsining,
Man-chi K'ou on the border of Lei-po and P'ing-shan,
Wu-tzu P'o between Huang-lang and Ching-k'ou, and the

567 outskirts of Lei-po city, are the chief hiding places of Lolo
721 bandit bands. Day and night, whenever they saw small groups
of Han-Chinese travelers on the road, they would rush out
from ambush in the thickets to attack. After having threatened
and killed one or two persons, they then seized the others
and their belongings. The district outside Lei-po was often
[727] attacked at night. After they had broken into the house, the
Lolo would capture all the men and women there and plunder
and seize their property; sometimes they also burned down
the house. The soldiers and civilians inside the city, even
though they had heard the noise, dared not go out to help. The
567 Han-Chinese who went to the Lolo region to trade in opium usually
609 employed some black Lolo to serve as headman-protectors,
but somewhere on the way the Lolo would often turn the tables
and kidnap their protégés as slaves. This is called "reverse
protection." Farmers who went to the border region to reclaim
waste lands also sought the protection of the black Lolo;
again, at times, the Lolo would rebel and seize the Han-Chinese
as slaves in a large-scale kidnap attempt. The victims,
sometimes numbering as many as several hundreds, were sold
in the Lolo region and transported to different places.

According to Lolo tradition, all captured persons and
727 goods are considered the property of the captor. If the black
564 and white Lolo band together for robbing, the black Lolo can
keep everything they have taken, while the white Lolo have to
share a part of the loot with the black Lolo. All the booty is
either retained or sold. The captured Han-Chinese people,
567 however, are always sold and usually change hands three or
four times before they are finally kept as household slaves.
This is done to prevent the Han-Chinese, if they should succeed
later in escaping to Chinese territory, from identifying
their kidnapper, who would be in danger of seizure and punishment
by the government if he ever set foot in the Chinese
territory. The price of slaves depends mainly on their age,
567 irrespective of sex. The very young and the very old who are
435 too feeble to work are sold cheaply, while strong youths and
adults fetch a high price of 50 to 100 ounces of silver per person.
If the Han-Chinese slaves are redeemed from Lolo territory,
the ransom, always slightly higher than the buying price,
is usually over 100 ounces of silver.

727 The Lolo not only seize people and goods in the Han-Chinese
territory, but also from their clan enemies. Members
628 of enemy clans take revenge and kill each other in feuds
567 that may last for generations. Captured black Lolo have to be
killed right away because they cannot be enslaved; on the other

628 hand, the white Lolo can be kept as slaves or sold to others.
727 The property of clan enemies can be seized as one's own.
567 Therefore, to fight a clan feud is also a means by which the Lolo enriches himself through annexing another's property.

428 All immovable property, movable goods, and slaves are regarded as family heirlooms to be handed down from generation to generation. According to an unwritten law, the house is inherited by the youngest son because the daughters and the other sons would have established their own households after marriage, and only the youngest son who lives with the parents in the family house is entitled to inherit it. [70] Both male and female children have equal rights to all other property. In general, the lands and fields are divided among the sons since it is impractical for the daughters who are married away into another village to make use of them. Money and other belongings, such as guns, cattle, and male and female slaves, are distributed equally among the children.
[567] Usually male slaves are given to the sons and female slaves to the daughters. If the number of slaves cannot be divided evenly, one party can pay silver to purchase the rights from the other.

The distribution of family property comes after the death of the parents. It is supervised and arbitrated by clan relatives, as well as mother's brothers and father's sisters' husbands. Special portions not included in the divided property are set aside for unmarried children. When the parents make arrangements during their lifetime on how the family property should be divided, their wish is always obeyed and carried out after their death. A couple of years ago a quite wealthy white Lolo, who lived north of the village of San-ho-i-ta, passed away and was survived by two grown-up sons and one married daughter. On his sick bed, the old man, who loved his daughter the most, told her secretly of three places in each of which she could dig up a jar of silver. After his death, the sons each got a jar of silver dug up from some hiding place told them by the father. The daughter was able to unearth two jars according to the old man's directions, but she failed to find any silver in the third place. She dug again after having consulted the pi-mu, but still there was no silver. So she was obliged to tell her elder brother, who demanded an even share of the buried silver, if found, before promising to help her. The sister, however, refused to comply. From this case which was still unsettled when the inspection team left Liang Shan, we can get a general idea of property inheritance in Lolo society.

[71] CHAPTER 7

CLASSES

564 The class system is a special feature of Lolo society
567 which is divided into three groups: black Lolo, white Lolo, and Han-Chinese slaves. The very strict distinction between the black and white Lolo precludes any chance of mobility between them although the white Lolo, originally Han-Chinese slaves who have lived among the Lolo for a number of years, have been accepted by the black Lolo as their own kind. The newly captured slaves from the Han-Chinese territory have the lowest social standing and are looked down upon by both the black and white Lolo. However, if the Han-Chinese slaves become completely acculturated to Lolo life after having lived in their midst for generations, they would be allowed to intermarry with the white Lolo and eventually achieve white Lolo status. Therefore the division between the white Lolo and Han-Chinese slaves is only temporary, and social mobility tends to blur the boundary between them.

The black Lolo, who consider themselves aristocrats,
564 are the ruling class; they are also believed to be the pure
144 Lolo stock. According to the author's investigation, the black Lolo belong to the Mongoloid race with numerous physical traits similar to the Han-Chinese. For example, their stature,
[142] their sparse black hair and brown eyes, their facial features and cranium shape, especially their eye fold, all point to a typical Mongoloid stock. Formerly, based on random observations during their travels, Western scholars considered the Lolo to be Caucasian — an apparently erroneous assumption.
[141] Instead of being dolichocephalic, the black Lolo have a medium cephalic index. They differ from the Han-Chinese in certain physical aspects, such as dark skin, hooked nose, and big ear lobes. These merely indicate, however, that as primitive groups long isolated from the "central plains" and inhibited from exogamy, they have formed their own community and maintained their original physical traits. In other words, the
[174] black Lolo are members of an ethnic group who have invaded and occupied the present Lolo territory, captured and enslaved those in surrounding areas, and maintained to this day their ruling position.

648 564 554 Some of the especially powerful black Lolo aristocrats were appointed by Chinese emperors of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties as t'u-szu [native chiefs] and t'u-mu [native officers]. This was done to appease the Lolo so that they would not rebel against the government and plunder and kill the Han-Chinese. After the initial appointment, the t'u-szu office became hereditary. During the last years of the Ch'ing dynasty, there were in the Lei-po region three t'u-szu families: the Kuo T'u-szu at Huang-lang, the An T'u-szu at T'ien Ku-mi, and the Yang T'u-szu in Lei-po city. Today, the Kuo family is without posterity; only two girls remain of the An family; of the Yang family, there is only a daughter named Tai-ti, as mentioned in a previous chapter. At the beginning of the Republic, there were further changes in the t'u-szu system. Moreover, the lack of a male heir in these families has caused a rapid decline of their power with the result that the Lolo people no longer take orders from them and that as a matter of fact the t'u-szu system has become [72] completely disorganized. The t'u-mu were formerly Lolo military officers or close relatives of the t'u-szu. After the decline of t'u-szu power, the title of t'u-mu has been applied without distinction to all and any influential black Lolo. For example, Hu Hsing-min of Wu-chio, who went to Lei-po to receive Chinese militia training and has become quite Sinicized, has been upheld by members of his clan as their leader and called t'u-shê by both Han-Chinese and Lolo. In Wu-chio, because of its proximity to the Han-Chinese city, the people generally adopt Chinese terminology, but in Liang Shan itself there are actually no such titles as t'u-szu or t'u-shê. For those powerful black Lolo leaders whom the Han-Chinese call pao-t'u, the Lolo term is merely ying tu-tu.

564 162 At present there is only one black Lolo class which constitutes the ruling power in Liang Shan. On the average, there are ten white Lolo families for every black Lolo household. Take, for example, the Li-ch'ü branch in I-ch'ê Ho: there are five black Lolo households among the 50 households at Pa-p'u; nine black Lolo households among the 33 at San-ho-i-ta; and no black Lolo households among the 31 at I-lu. Thus, there are altogether 14 black Lolo households in the area compared to 100 white Lolo households. This number, however, does not include the various white Lolo pai-hsing subjects and Han-Chinese slaves of the Li-ch'ü branch around the P'u-ch'ien, A-ku, and Ku-p'eng area. Therefore we conclude that on the average every black Lolo family controls about ten white Lolo households. Actually a powerful black Lolo would have many more "subjects" and slaves and a weak black Lolo much fewer.

567 A strict distinction and an absolute lack of social equality exist between the black and white Lolo. As the owner of land and cattle, every black Lolo is a potential landlord. He regards as his chattels all *kuo-chuang wa-tzu* [household slaves] who till the field, tend the cattle, do daily chores, and perform other services for him. Even their very person is a part of the master's possessions, and they can be sold or transferred at his whim. An interesting incident which can serve as an example happened at the time of the author's investigation at the village of Hsi-ning. A black Lolo of the En-cha branch was [525] gambling at P'ing-pien with another black Lolo. He was a heavy loser, and after having emptied all the silver he had with him, he still owed the winner a large debt. He immediately ordered his personal attendant, a household slave, to go with the other black Lolo. The slave, who had served the En-cha black Lolo for a number of years and had grown attached to him, did not want to surrender himself to a new master. So he cried bitterly and refused to obey his master's order. The En-cha black Lolo was so infuriated at this disobedience that he chased the slave to the bank of the Hsi-ning river and while there threw a big stone at him. Fortunately, it missed. There were many eyewitnesses to this incident which demonstrates the relationship between the black and white Lolo.

Household slaves can also be transferred. At the marriage of a black Lolo girl, the maids follow the bride as a part of her dowry. In the division of family property after the parents' death, the slaves and the slaves' children are evenly distributed among the heirs, the male slaves going to the male heir and the female ones to the female heir. Sometimes when the number of slaves is not divisible, they may be purchased with silver or transfered in such a way so as to maintain the principle of equal distribution of the slaves among the heirs.

564 567 [73] While the black Lolo has absolute authority over his household slaves with the power of life or death, to give or to take away, the white Lolo "subjects" are treated quite differently. These "subjects" have been long-time residents of the village for generations. They own their individual [421 428] houses, land, and other property. In Ta-liang Shan, if a white Lolo "subject" should die without a male heir or a close relative, the black master could take over his land and property. Lolo tradition, however, forbids the selling of white Lolo "subjects" who consequently have a social status higher than that of the household slaves. During a clan feud, a captured white Lolo "subject" becomes the household slave of

564 another clan. Sometimes, when a white Lolo "subject" be-
567 comes so poor that he does not have an inch of land to stand on,
the black master would not help him financially but would take
him in as a household slave. Therefore there is considerable
mobility among the white Lolo "subjects" and the household
slaves. This mobility works two ways, for not only can the
"subjects" be reduced to slavery, but also the slaves can be
promoted to the "subject" status if they succeed in gaining
their master's confidence.

564 Even those white Lolo who have acquired a "subject"
status and are economically independent have to regulate their
every action according to the black master's whim and take
orders from him. If they rebel or seriously offend the black
Lolo, they would be beaten or even shot to death. A landown-
ing white Lolo often seeks to increase his holdings and accumu-
late wealth. In this case he could lease more land from the
[427] black Lolo if his own is not enough, the rent paid varying from
40 to 60 per cent of the harvest. This relationship is similar
to that between landlord and tenant. Actually, the white Lolo
have many economic obligations to their master. During the
busy farming season or while building a new house, the mas-
[466] ter can summon the white Lolo to work for him without any
compensation except for food and drink. During a clan feud,
when the master musters the adult males for the fight, all
[628] white Lolo have to join. If the feud is settled through negotia-
tion and the master has to pay indemnity, everyone of his
white Lolo "subjects" has to contribute a share in varying
amounts, depending upon the financial condition of the family.
564 At the New Year, each white Lolo household would present to
the master one bottle of wine and one half of a pig's head as a
431 gift. They would also offer wine and other gifts on special oc-
casions in the master's household, such as weddings, burials,
and cremations. If the master takes a daughter-in-law, the
present is a pig; if the master gives a daughter away in mar-
riage, the contribution includes, besides the wedding gift,
some silver for the girl's pocket money. In the event of death
and burial, they contribute oxen and sheep for the sacrifice;
in a religious ceremony, they offer wine in amounts from 20
to 100 catties. In addition to these contributions, the white
Lolo "subjects" have an obligation to share expenses whenever
the master entertains guests, needs financial help, or faces
an emergency.

564 The social position of the black and white Lolo, as well
567 as their class status, can be observed from their daily life,
554 activities, and attitudes. At home, both male and female black

564 Lolo issue orders which the white Lolo have to obey, [74]
567 whether to do chores in the house or to run errands. During
554 meals, the white Lolo have to serve their master first before
serving themselves. When they eat, specific seats around the
stove are assigned the master and his slaves — a convention
not to be violated. The sleeping quarters of the master are
[513] on the left side of the house or the left side of the stove, while
those of the white Lolo slaves are on the right side of the house
beside the grindstone or toward the lower part of the stove.
There is no difference in clothing except for the fact that the
[291] black Lolo mistress of the house usually wears a long skirt
trailing to the ground to show her dignity. All these are social
conventions that differentiate the class status of the black and
white Lolo.

564 Whenever a black Lolo master or mistress leaves the
567 house, he or she is always followed by some white Lolo, either
"subjects" or household slaves. If the master plans a long
554 journey, he usually takes along some of his "subjects," the
484 household slaves being too busy with work to make the trip.
On the road, the black Lolo walks with his hands unencumbered
or with a gun while his white Lolo followers, varying in number
from one or two to four or five, hold guns or other arms
for him, or carry baggage, silver goods, and salt on the
shoulder. When the master wished to smoke, the slave would
[277] immediately step forward with a stone pipe that has a bamboo
handle, fill it with tobacco, and light it for the master. Fire
is started in the conventional way by striking a piece of iron
[372] on the flint and then lighted on a thread of twisted dried grass.
When the master needed a drink, the slave would take out a
wooden bowl from the bag and fetch water in it for the master,
no matter how far he had to walk. While on route, whether
traveling or stopping, the white Lolo always follow closely behind.
During the author's trip to Liang Shan this was frequently
observed.

In matters of dress and ornament, such as *t'ien p'u-sa*,
564 earrings, cape, and wide trousers, there is little distinction
156 between the black and white Lolo. Nor are there major differences
in facial expression and physical stature. However, by
observing carefully their behavior and attitudes, it is possible
to tell the black Lolo from the white. The former is characterized
by bright eyes and a drooping mouth, as well as a
haughty bearing, reckless behavior, and an unyielding spirit.
In contrast to this carriage, the white Lolo are always humble
and ready to receive orders; they serve their master carefully;
and although quite rude and imperious in dealing with

564 outsiders, they are always meek and obedient in front of the
156 black Lolo, no matter to which branch or clan the latter may
belong. This attitude, of course, is only generally true. As
exceptions, there are also weak individuals among the black
Lolo and strong ones among the white.

As a whole, the relationship between the black and white
564 Lolo is that between members of the upper and lower classes.
567 Economically, it is the master-slave relationship; socially,
it is the superior-inferior relationship; politically, it is the
ruler-subject relationship. Actually, the black master is
neither severe nor cruel in ruling his slaves. Notwithstanding
the difference in class and social status, they enjoy equal material welfare. If a black Lolo visits a white Lolo, [75] the
[574] latter would treat him as the guest of honor and entertain him
with all hospitality. In the case of a white Lolo visiting the
black, he too will be provided with food and lodging so as not
to starve or freeze. Ordinarily, all the food in the black Lolo
[262] household is shared equally by its members. If the master
has some fresh and new food, he shares it with his slaves, their
children not excepted. During festivals or wedding ceremonies,
when cattle are killed and the feast spread, they all enjoy the
meat and empty the wine to welcome each other. If the master
of the house entertains the guests generously and treats his
slaves well, his reputation will spread far and wide and more
"subjects" will come to him.

The fair treatment accorded the slaves is not confined
567 to the distribution of food. All the clothes and ornaments of
431 household slaves are supplied by the master. If a guest gives
gifts to the master, he should also give some to the slaves;
otherwise, even though the slaves dare not utter any complaint,
the master and mistress will show their dissatisfaction on their
faces. At all the houses where we stayed overnight during the
inspection trip, we always prepared two sets of gifts, one for
the master and the other for the slaves, in accordance with
Lolo tradition.

The care and protection given to white Lolo slaves by
564 their black master are not limited to material aspects alone;
567 they also have important psychological bearings. If a white
Lolo slave has some trouble, the master would do his best to
help. It is clear that by assuming responsibilities for the
white Lolo slaves, the black Lolo is able to make the white
Lolo obey him voluntarily without reservation. Therefore,
up to this time, no white Lolo rebellion against the black Lolo
has been reported. Before the inspection team entered Liang
Shan, we hired Li-ch'ü Ta-chi as our headman-protector.

564 When we were about to start, Ta-chi ordered his two slaves to
567 buy some sheep at the Su's store in Lei-po city. Unfortunately, the people at the store told them by mistake that the sheep were at the east gate. As these two slaves went there hurriedly in the darkness, the Han-Chinese thought that the Lolo had come to rob; soon a large crowd gathered and gave them a beating. As a result, both slaves were badly mauled. So Ta-chi was unwilling to go with the team and requested to remain at Lei-po to settle the dispute. Consequently, we were delayed for three days. Mr. Wang Yü-an, who was in charge of Lolo affairs, volunteered to settle the dispute with the guarantee that the two slaves would be returned safely to their home after medical treatment. He also strove to persuade Ta-chi to lead the inspection team as previously arranged. However, Ta-chi answered, "I took my slaves from Liang Shan to Lei-po. If I don't take them home and if their mother should ask for them, what could I say?" Brief as his statement is, it clearly indicates his sense of responsibility and an affectionate regard for the slave's welfare.

The life and property of the white Lolo are left com-
564 pletely in the hands of the black Lolo. If the household of a
567 white Lolo were attacked, the black Lolo would muster his
628 men to defend it. A feud between one clan and another, often caused by the involvement of some white Lolo slaves, leads
571 to conflict and mutual killing. Sometimes the slaves of clan A seek refuge with clan B [76] which refuses to return them to the owner; sometimes the slaves of clan B are cheated and beaten by members of clan A; at another time, the slaves of the two clans may be embroiled in a dispute. Such incidents often lead to an armed conflict between the two clans. In brief, the black Lolo leaders of each clan consider it their responsibility to protect their white Lolo "subjects" and household slaves.

At the same time, the black Lolo has need of the
564 wholehearted support of the white Lolo to weld together the
571 entire clan and to extend its influence externally. Because of the larger population of the white Lolo, their majority opinion is very important. Their influence can eventually determine the rise and fall of a black Lolo leader and the growth or decline of his power. Therefore the class relationship between black and white Lolo is mutual and not one-sided. The black Lolo has a set of responsibilities and obligations to the white; the same is true of the white Lolo's relations to the black.

564 Under the black Lolo's rule, the white Lolo is the
567

564 laboring class. Originally, they were the household slaves
567 of various black Lolo clans; in a number of cases, these household slaves were later promoted to become "subjects." This kind of advancement, however, is achieved not through the use of money and property to gain the freedom of the person, but through a long period of faithful service to the master, thereby gaining his confidence and receiving from him land to establish a household. Then gradually they advance to the "subject" status. This promotion cannot be gained overnight and it usually takes a considerable period of time, sometimes as long as several generations. In Li-ch'ü Ta-chi's household, there is a slave by the name of Hu, who was captured in the battle of Shan-leng Kang in 1919. He has already served his master for more than 20 years and has won his master's confidence. A wife has been given him and she has borne him a child. He now owns a small house near Ta-chi's and farms his own land, but he still comes in to perform service for Ta-chi and to help in the management of household affairs. When the inspection team stayed at San-ho-i-ta, although Ta-chi had many other household slaves, Hu still had many duties to perform, such as killing and skinning sheep, building the fire, and cooking. He was also ordered to take the author to visit the mountain behind the house. Actually, Hu has not yet achieved "subject" status, partly because of his Han-Chinese origin — it is not until the second or third generation when their descendants no longer consider themselves Han-Chinese that the household slaves could become "subjects."

In their potential advancement and demotion as well as in their mobility, household slaves and "subjects" have social positions that are not very much different. [77] In Liang Shan today the "subjects" are the majority. The population is
[162] approximately one-tenth black Lolo, two- or three-tenths Han-Chinese slaves, and the rest is all white Lolo. After many
564 generations and long years, the white Lolo "subjects" have
their own family names and clans. For example: the Ch'ê-pi
614 white Lolo branch in the Ku-p'eng and P'u-to-i-ta area is
551 quite populous and influential. To the west of I-lu is the Su-chia white Lolo branch, also very prosperous. At Wu-chio west of Lei-po are the white Lolo families of Tu, Ts'ai, Yang, and Po under the rule of the black Lolo Hu Hsing-min. Since the White Lolo have clan names, they marry outside of the clan and their kin relationship is the same as the black Lolo's. Also their clothing, food, housing, modes of travel, customs, traditions, and so on are entirely similar to the black Lolo's.

Sometimes, the white Lolo under different black Lolo

Sometimes, the white Lolo under different black Lolo
564 masters may become involved in a conflict and eventually start
628 a feud which, once the situation gets beyond control, may lead
627 to an armed fight between two black Lolo clans. On the other hand, whenever the white Lolo under the same black Lolo master have a dispute, the black Lolo would come out to arbitrate and afterwards receive from the white Lolo a present of cattle as an expression of gratitude.

621 In a one-clan village, where there is only one black Lolo leader, the white Lolo are assured of the safety of their
564 lives and property and can serve their master wholeheartedly, but those white Lolo who live outside the village, between two clans, or in some remote area have to serve black Lolo leaders of two or more clans in order to live in peace and quietness without being harmed or destroyed. Besides their own master, these white "subjects" have to submit to the black Lolo of the other branches for added protection. To pay respects to his
[431] other master, the white Lolo offers a pot of wine and a half of a pig's head as presentation gifts in recognition of his new "subject" status; he also contributes wine and food for every New Year festival. Automatically, he discharges all the obligations of a "subject."

[614] The Ch'ê-pi white Lolo branch at Ku-p'eng is subject to the Wu-ch'i branch, but most of its members also serve the headman-protector of the Li-ch'ü branch. At La-li Kou, which is an important pass to and from Liang Shan and a thoroughfare for the various clans, the people are heterogeneous in composition and the place itself is far from being a one-clan village. So the "subjects" there belong at the same time to a number of different black Lolo branches in order to ensure the safety of the community. Thus the relationship between the different clans, as well as the relationship between the black and white Lolo, is by no means simple with well-defined boundaries, but rather complicated, overlapping, and varied according to local developments.

564 In the Lolo territory the Han-Chinese slaves, who form
567 a separate class, occupy the lowest position. In a black Lolo family only a small number of white Lolo serve as household slaves, the majority of them being Han-Chinese. The white Lolo could not make slaves of other white Lolo but they could capture or purchase Han-Chinese as slaves, commonly called *san-t'an wa-tzu*. The white Lolo serve only their black master
[78] whereas the Han-Chinese could also become slaves of white Lolo. The status of Han-Chinese slaves is therefore very inferior.

567
727 The origin of Han-Chinese slaves can be generally

567 traced to capture by the Lolo in frontier regions. There are
727 different ways of capturing them: sometimes the Lolo would attack and seize Han-Chinese wayfarers from ambush; sometimes the Lolo would join an assault on a Han-Chinese village during the middle of the night; sometimes they would capture slave members of the opposite side in a clan feud. There were also numerous cases of Han-Chinese who, while on a business trip or engaged in reclamation work, were kidnapped on the way as slaves by the same Lolo who had served as their headmen-protectors but who later *staged an act of reverse protection*. In April, 1940, more than 200 members of a reclamation community at Man-ch'i K'ou in Lei-po county were captured and taken to the mountain en masse. Among the captives were two Liu brothers, who were high school graduates and who had come to the reclamation area to visit friends. The rebel leader was a black Lolo, Yueh-t'ao, of the Hou-p'u branch at Ta-ku Tui. At that time, the person in charge of the reclamation project was a Mr. Liao, who immediately rushed to the spot upon hearing the news, while at the same time he seized Chiao-hua, a leader of the Shih-t'u branch. As the Shih-t'u and Hou-p'u were on friendly terms, Mr. Liao planned to use Chiao-hua as a hostage to redeem the reclamation workers. Negotiations started between the Han-Chinese and the Lolo. Mr. Liao took with him a hundred or more soldiers whom he deployed on the mountain, while on the opposite side the Lolo also had the same number of soldiers. Mr. Liao and his interpreters were negotiating a settlement when they suddenly heard the noise of shooting. Since fighting had broken out between the Han-Chinese and the Lolo, Mr. Liao and Yüeh-t'ao both rushed back to their respective camps. It happened that Chiao-hua, in an attempt to escape from the Han-Chinese camp, had been shot to death by the Han-Chinese soldiers. So fighting was resumed and all negotiations were broken off. The 200 Han-Chinese reclamation workers were all kept in Liang Shan where they were sold and dispersed in different places to become Lolo slaves. The Liu brothers also were never heard of again.

567 For the Han-Chinese slaves in Lolo territory, whether they are slaves of the black or white Lolo, the master-slave relationship is the same as the relationship between household slaves and their black Lolo masters. The Han-Chinese slaves are considered a part of the master's property. The master can exploit to the maximum the slaves' labor and can also sell
567 or transfer them at any time to other families or clans. The
435 price of a Han-Chinese slave depends upon his age, sex, and

567 [435] physical strength. A young and able-bodied person, whether male or female, can fetch quite high a price. For children and old feeble persons, the price is cheaper. Han-Chinese slaves first taken to the Lolo territory are sold over and over again, changing hands several times, before the Lolo master dares keep them for good. Often Han-Chinese slaves from the Lei-po area were sold at Sikang while Han-Chinese slaves from Chao-chüeh were sent to the Lei-po, Ma-pien, P'ing-shan, and O-pien area to prevent them from escaping.

There are many Han-Chinese slaves in the Liang Shan region. No matter whether it is a black or white Lolo household, it has at least one or two slaves. After entering the mountain, it is very difficult for Han-Chinese slaves to flee the tiger's mouth as the place is surrounded on all sides by Lolo families, and even if they could escape from one village or clan [79] to another, they would instantly be discovered because of their language and other alien traits and recaptured as slaves for a new household in another village. Therefore, of all the hundred [sic] captured Han-Chinese slaves, not one has escaped. In visiting the Liang Shan area, the author met no less than a hundred Han-Chinese slaves who wore tattered clothes and who toiled everywhere. Sometimes the newly captured slaves could hardly endure the torture. When they saw the inspection team, they wept silently, their faces covered with tears. Some would send a secret message to arrange for ways and means to escape from the tiger's mouth.

567 177 In their treatment of Han-Chinese slaves, the Lolo are doubly harsh to the newcomers, who have to work the whole day long without sufficient food and clothing. They suffer a fate worse than that of horses and cattle. Male Han-Chinese slaves are required to keep the t'ien p'u-sa and the female a braid; the male slaves all wear tattered Lolo clothes and from their appearance, they look very much acculturated to Lolo life, but unless they have been in Lolo territory for a long time, they find it difficult to learn the language. After a long period, probably several years in duration, when the master finds a male Han-Chinese slave truly tamed and obedient, he would then purchase for him a female slave, also a Han-Chinese, for [583] a wife.. Male and female slaves of Han-Chinese stock have to marry each other as there is little intermarriage between Han-Chinese slaves and the white Lolo,,who look down upon the Han-Chinese. After marriage the children born into the family automatically become slaves also, their status being predetermined by birth. If they win the master's favor, they may establish, after three or four generations, their own households

567 177 and family units. In time they forget their Han-Chinese ancestry and gradually attain the position of white Lolo subjects. During the author's travels in the Yen-ch'ih Pa and Tso-erh-wo area, he secretly observed three white Lolo families that were Han-Chinese five or six generations ago. They were so deeply acculturated that they did not wish to make known their Han-Chinese origin for fear they would be looked down upon. The author met an old couple who were gathering fuel back of the mountain at San-ho-i-ta. The old man, a Han-Chinese with *the surname Hu, had been in the Lolo territory for more than* 40 years. His wife, who was captured at Hai-nao Pa and taken to Liang Shan 20 years ago, was given him by his master. With them were two female slaves from another household, one a second generation Han-Chinese and the other of the third generation. The inspection team gave each of them some thread and needles. Pointing to the third generation female slave, the old man said to the author, "She is already a man-tzu [barbarian]; you don't have to give her these articles." From his remark can be seen the process of acculturation of a Han-Chinese slave.

567 There does not seem to be a well-defined rule for the promotion of Han-Chinese slaves to white Lolo "subjects" because of the long time involved in the transition; furthermore, the situation varies with locality. Actually, the distinction between Han-Chinese slaves and white Lolo is not as strict as that between black and white Lolo. Several situations can be cited to illustrate this point: (1) absolutely no white Lolo can be promoted to the black Lolo status, whereas Han-Chinese slaves may some day become white Lolo; (2) although white [582] Lolo and Han-Chinese slaves usually do not intermarry, this interdiction is not strictly enforced as there are cases of white Lolo men openly competing [80] for the hand of a beautiful Han-Chinese girl; (3) besides his master, a Han-Chinese slave has no obligation to serve other white Lolo and thus has about the same social position as they do, unlike a white Lolo who has to act humbly and assume a subordinate position in front of any black Lolo.

Usually it is difficult for a Han-Chinese slave to leave Lolo territory, but if his relatives in the Han-Chinese area can locate him and discover his master's branch, his family can try to ransom him by negotiating the fee through a middleman. The following example will serve to show the circumstances relating to the redemption of Han-Chinese slaves.

567 115 At the battle of Shan-leng Kang in 1919, Wang Wen-ying, secretary to the commander of the P'u-an military camp, was

killed on the spot when the city fell into Lolo hands. Before his death, he tried to use a knotted rope to hang his second son, who was at that time only seven years old, but the boy did not die. The Lolo took him down from the rope and carried him away. At first he stayed with the Lu family, a black Lolo at Ta-ku Tui, and was given the name T'ieh-ha and the job of tending the pigs. The eldest son of Wen-ying is no other than Mr. Wang Yü-an, who is now in charge of Lolo affairs at Lei-po. Only 14 years old at that time, he was working in the Lei-po county office. After hearing the bad news, he strongly urged Leng Hsün-nan to send forth troops to recapture his younger brother. The Lu family, fearing an assault by Han-Chinese soldiers, asked their relative and friend, Li-pieh Ch'ü-p'u, to take T'ieh-ha to Ta-liang Shan to be resold. On their way through En-cha-wa-hsi and about a hundred li southwestward, they reached Pu-shih-ko village where T'ieh-ha was sold as a slave to the family of a white Lolo named Ti-meng-chih for the price of 50 ounches of silver. As T'ieh-ha was originally the slave of a black Lolo, Ti-meng-chih now changed his name to T'ieh-la to denote a social status below that of the white Lolo. T'ieh-la's duty in Ti-meng-chih's household was to herd sheep. For a long time, Yü-an did not know the whereabouts of his brother. In 1927 he met A-cho Tso-tu who was employed as a messenger at Lei-po. Yü-an gave him 70 ounces of silver to go to Liang Shan to seek his brother. When Tso-tu came to Pu-shih-ko, he announced that he had brought only 30 ounces of silver to redeem T'ieh-la, but Ti-meng-chih would not release the boy at that price. Then Tso-tu returned to inform Yü-an that T'ieh-la had died. After that, Yü-an gave up hope of searching for his younger brother.

In 1930, when T'ieh-la was 18 years old, he learned from the newly-arrived Han-Chinese slaves that his elder brother Yü-an was in charge of a grade school at T'ien-ku-mi. He sent several messages, both oral and written, but received no answer. In 1939, he heard again that Yü-an had been transferred to Wu-chio to manage a provincial grade school. T'ien-la begged A-cho Chin-ha, a black Lolo, to try to communicate with his elder brother; Chin-ha agreed. During his spare time after sheep herding, by serving as a middleman in business transactions, T'ieh-la had won the favor of many black Lolo, one of whom was Chih-ha. The latter secretly asked T'ieh-la to write a letter which he delivered at Wu-chio through a white Lolo slave. Nine days later they received an answer from Yü-an who then asked Po Ts'an-yung, a white Lolo at Ma-liu Wan, to go to Pu-shih-ko to negotiate.

567 115 The ransom was settled at 100 ounces of silver. By that time, Ti-meng-chih had died and Ti-ku-ko, his son, had inherited T'ieh-la. So Po Ts'an-yung left a nine-shot gun (also worth 100 ounces of silver) as a [81] surety and took Ti-ku-ku and T'ieh-la with him to Ma-liu Wan for the exchange. Yü-an was carried to the village from Lei-po in a chair of bamboo poles and was dressed in full Han-Chinese regalia. Seeing this, Ti-ku-ku thought mistakenly that Yü-an was rich, so he broke his promise and demanded instead 600 ounces. The negotiations dragged on several times without result. For 20 years the Wang brothers were able to meet for one brief moment and then they had to part again.

All this happened in June, 1939. Afterwards, on several occasions Yü-an asked his Lolo friends to go to Liang Shan to smuggle out T'ieh-la, but none succeeded. Finally in December of the same year, the brothers Ni-weng and Shih-chüeh of the A-cho branch, good friends of Yü-an, volunteered to help. Ti-ku-ku was originally a "subject" of the Li-pieh branch which had kinship relations with the A-cho branch. Therefore the A-cho brothers were able to conclude the negotiations in a day. Immediately after Ni-weng had handed to Ti-ku-ku 100 ounces of silver, he took T'ieh-la away to meet his elder brother, Yü-an. This ended the 20 years of T'ieh-la's slavery. He was no other than Mr. Wang Chü-sung, the interpreter of the inspection team.

[82] CHAPTER 8

CLAN FEUDS

628 Clan feud is one of the special features of Lolo society; it is no less important than the class system. The hostility and armed fighting of enemy clans embrace the various aspects of their social life and are by no means simple warfare and politics, or mere matters of economy or law. Like the class system, clan feud is a pivot in Lolo culture, around which are linked the different parts of their social life. As society is originally a unit by itself, the different aspects of human life are chains that mutually overlap and interrelate with each other. Any slight shock in life is bound to affect the society as a whole. In a community, because of cultural development or historical tradition, one or two aspects of life are apt to receive greater emphasis and become eventually the pivotal point of the culture. Clan feud among the Lolo is thus one of these pivots.

578
628 Anyone entering the Lolo area cannot fail to observe the prevalent phenomena of fighting and killing between Lolo clan enemies. The extent of these feuds usually depends upon the size of the hostile groups. There are feuds between clans, clan villages, and clan branches. There is not one branch or lineage among the Lolo families in Liang Shan that is in complete amity with its neighbors or without some involvement with hostile families surrounding them. When the inspection team entered Liang Shan and went westward from Ma-ching-tzu, our headman-protector, Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, and his nephew, Lao-mu, suddenly disappeared together and A-cho Che-chio took their place to lead the way. It was not until we reached Cho-chiao-na-ta that we met the uncle and nephew again. The reason was that the region from Ma-ching-tzu westward was under the influence of the Pu-chi branch, which for generations had been a clan enemy of the Li-ch'ü branch. Countless times they had killed one another for revenge. As clan enemies cannot trespass each other's territory, Li-ch'ü Ta-chi and his nephew secretly took a roundabout road to avoid conflict.

There are a number of reasons for contracting clan feuds. A long-standing feud could be initiated by clan

|578 ancestors and handed down from grandfather to father, from
628 father to son, and from son to grandson for several or even several tens of generations. During this time, members of enemy clans would kill each other without reconciliation. New clan enemies are created because of mutual misunderstanding or a conflict of interest between two groups. Without their being able to tolerate each other, the situation could be aggravated into open armed conflict.

628 The reasons for clan-feud fighting are by no means simple. According to Lolo tradition, there is a regulation for making reparations. For example, [83] if a man kills
[68] another, he should pay with his life. If the killer refuses to do so, then the blood kin of the victim would appeal to force, and the relatives of the killer would unite to resist the attack, thus leading to a bloody fight between the two clans. Blood feud, a universal phenomenon in primitive society, is sufficiently manifest among the Lolo. When Wang Chü-sung, the interpreter of the inspection team, served as a slave in the family of the white Lolo, Ti-ku-ku, he himself witnessed personally many clan feuds. The black Lolo master of Ti-ku-ku was Li-pieh Chih-ha, who was involved in an armed fight with the Wu-ch'i branch on account of a clan feud. Previously, a male member of the Wu-ch'i branch had died suddenly on his way home. His clan members, suspecting that he was assassinated by someone from the Li-pieh branch, asked for indemnities from the Li-pieh branch, which refused and persisted in its denial of the incident. So the dispute could not be settled. Later, members of the Wu-ch'i clan secretly banded together to attack the Li-pieh clan village. The Li-pieh branch was prepared for the attack. Led by the black Lolo Chih-ha, the clan members and their white Lolo subjects, among them Ti-ku-ku, went straight to a place called A-ning Ch'i-ho just east of the village of Pu-shih-ko, where they encountered members of the Wu-ch'i branch. The two clans faced each other on opposite sides of the mountain, shooting and fighting from morning till evening. As a result three persons from the Li-pieh branch and one from the Wu-ch'i were killed. The second time, the Li-pieh branch took revenge; the clan members, again led by Chih-ha, assaulted the village stockade of the Wu-ch'i branch, killing one black Lolo and seizing three oxen before they strode away in triumph. Since then, the Li-pieh and Wu-ch'i branches have been fighting and killing each other in renewed feuds. The black Lolo Hou-p'u branch, which has common kinship with both clans, has volunteered to help reconcile and make peace between them, but without success

628 because of disagreement over the peace terms. This time when Wang Chü-sung entered Liang Shan as an interpreter, he inquired about this clan feud between Li-pieh and Wu-ch'i, and was told that they still continued their armed fight without having reached any peaceful solution.

The main cause of clan feud is usually manslaughter.
628 As the incident gradually becomes enlarged, it leads eventu-
567 ally to interclan revenge and killing. Disputes involving slaves
578 are another important factor in clan feuds. Sometimes a slave
would flee from one clan branch to surrender himself to another, thus stirring up hostility between the two. At other times, a feud may arise from the efforts of the black Lolo master to come forward to protect his slaves who are being insulted or tortured by the members of some other clan. As the white Lolo are quite numerous in each clan and their affairs rather complicated, their frequent contact with outside clans would inevitably embroil them in quarrels that, once they become serious, could result in interclan armed fighting, with the black Lolo masters playing the role of protectors for the slaves of their own clan.

578 At Ma-liu Wan village, for instance, the Lolo chief, Li-
567 ch'ü Ta-i, made an enemy of Yang Tai-ti, daughter of the late
Yang T'u-szu, on account of his slave, Po Ts'an-k'ai. For-
648 merly Ta-i's slave, Po escaped to Lei-po and surrendered himself as a slave to the household of [84] Yang Tai-ti, where his mother was once Tai-ti's wet nurse. During the spring of 1943, Ta-i met Ts'an-k'ai at Lei-po city and admonished him to return to Ma-liu Wan. Po, however, secretly leagued himself with some military personnel and had Ta-i arrested and taken to a military camp, where he was tied on a beam and beaten. Ta-i asked someone to intercede for him and spent 50 ounces of silver for ransom. So Ta-i cherished a deep hatred for Po and was anxious for an opportunity to revenge. Repeatedly he sent messages to Tai-ti, accusing Po of having deceived him and demanding Po's surrender. At that time Yang Tai-ti was studying abroad and did not know about the incident. The steward of Yang's household, considering himself a former employer of Yang T'u-szu, paid no attention to Ta-i's demand. One day in early summer, when Tai-ti returned to Lei-po, Ta-i dispatched his men to Wang-shen P'o north of the city to cut down all the corn there because the land belonged to the Yang household and its tenant farmer, the slave Su, was a steward of the family. The county magistrate, Li K'ai-ti, was only newly appointed to his office. Upon hearing suddenly that a band of Lolo had come to destroy the corn,

578 567 648 he suspected a Lolo riot and immediately sent an officer in charge of Lolo affairs to make inquiries and take action accordingly. This incident occurred before the inspection team got to Lei-po.

563 628 The Lolo treat the Han-Chinese under their protection as they treat the white Lolo slaves. At Huan-kou village in Hsiao-liang Shan were some ten Han-Chinese families who had put themselves under the protection of the Mo-shih branch. Among them was the family of Ch'en Yu-lun. About three or four years ago, some black Lolo from Ta-liang Shan attacked the Ch'en family and carried away the Ch'en couple with their boy and girl, a total of four persons, and two guns. The black Lolo of Ta-liang Shan asserted that because of a false accusation by Ch'en Yu-lun's master, Mo-shih Tso-t'i, he had been imprisoned at Lei-po and was not released until he had paid a ransom of 50 ounces of silver. This time he captured the entire Ch'en family to avenge his betrayal by Tso-t'i. Later, Ch'en Yu-lun escaped from Ta-liang Shan. Since Tso-t'i was studying at that time at a military academy in Ch'eng-tu, Ch'en complained to Tso-t'i's mother, explaining to her all that had happened. Tso-t'i's mother discussed the matter with Wu-ch'i K'e-ku, who belonged to a kin clan of one of the influential Lolo leaders of the Mo-shih branch, and sought his help as a mediator. K'e-ku went to Ta-liang Shan and arranged for the ransom of Ch'en Yu-lun's wife and son, the daughter having already died, at a cost of 80 ounces of silver. First, K'e-ku marked out a portion of his own land in the Liang Shan area as a guarantee. After the return of Ch'en's wife and son to Huan-kou, Ch'en Yu-lun, since he had no cash on hand, transferred to K'e-ku his own land and property worth 80 ounces of silver. But still, the whole dispute has not been completely settled. Ch'en Yu-lun had an oral message delivered to Tso-t'i at Ch'eng-tu, asking him to come back to Lei-po to take personal charge of the affair; if Tso-t'i had not actually accused the black Lolo, as was charged, then the entire Mo-shih branch would raise an army of revenge to punish the ringleader.

628 578 The reasons for starting a clan feud cannot be discussed in detail here, but the foregoing examples give some idea of its main features. Because of conjugal relations, the Lolo women constitute a binding force for different clans or branches, but sometimes they also create problems that may become one of the important factors of clan feud. On account of [85] ill-treatment by the husband's family, a married woman often escapes to her own family to make

628 578 complaints, thus giving rise to hostility between the two clans and leading eventually to mutual killing for revenge. Also the transfer of a woman's marriage partnership may cause some kind of complication that could develop into a clan feud. In the instance mentioned earlier, a murder occurred when the widow Hu from the Li-ch'ü family at Wu-chio refused a second marriage to Hu Ch'ang-pao. This so infuriated Wu-ch'i Ku-pao, Ch'ang-pao's mother's elder brother's son, that he went to attack Wu-chio. Furthermore, the refusal to return the betrothal money and gifts according to Lolo tradition upon the girl's death would also result in disputes between the man's and the girl's clans. Therefore it frequently happens in Lolo society that today two clans may become united as affinal relatives on friendly terms with each other, and then tomorrow, because of some misunderstanding, they quarrel, fight, kill each other, and eventually become clan enemies.

628 725 There is no definite formula for fighting clan feuds. Whenever one clan feuds with another, it assembles its members secretly to prepare for an attack. The Lolo are unlike the Australian natives who agree beforehand on the time and place as well as the number of participants on each side before they go to the field for the armed battle. On the other hand, the Lolo make surprise attacks, like the Andaman or Borneo natives. Before they strike, they make ceremonial preparations and band together for the invasion with the main objective of attacking the enemy village or post and of capturing enemy property and goods.

751 The Lolo believe in the efficacy of the amulet, which is always worn as a protective charm. Before attacking the enemy, the fighter usually takes some lamb hair, asks the pi-mu to pronounce charms and draw spells on it, then sews it on inside the underclothing; he also stays away from women. Within 21 days, the lamb hair should have the power to protect the fighter against knife or gun. Other articles, such as tiger's whiskers and the savage's hair and fingernails, are also used as amulets for body protection.

628 787 Before starting the fight, they first seek divination to inquire about their good or bad luck. There are various forms of divination, such as divination with wood or bones, or by killing a chicken or a pig. All these will be discussed in detail in the following chapter on magic. It suffices to explain here the relationship between clan-feud fighting and the practice of divination and magic. From the Lolo point of view, a victory or defeat in fighting is all foretold in the supernatural world by divine revelations that are not to be ignored.

628 If the clan feud becomes enlarged in scope and two or
614 more clans are united in an effort to resist the common enemy,
726 then the able-bodied fighters of the different clans would
assemble and together perform a ceremony to seal the alliance.
They would kill chickens and animals, toast each other with
wine mixed with blood, and swear to attack the enemy and help
each other to the last man.

At the end of the Ch'ing dynasty and the beginning of
628 the Republic period, when guns were not yet brought to Liang
726 Shan, weapons for Lolo warfare consisted of bows and arrows,
[411] poles and sticks, leather shields, long knives, stone pellets,
and others. Fighting with these arms had to be done at close
quarters, [86] and so it was called hsieh-tou [armed fight].
During the fight, the participants had to wear full regalia to the
[714] field to display their military pomp. Their heads were wrapped
in a turban propped up like a "hero's knot." They wore silk
garments ornamented with gold. Even the horses were fitted
[492] with golden saddles and silver stirrups. All these were intended
to demonstrate their wealth and power to overawe the
enemy.

This kind of armed fighting, however, exists in name
726 only, since the Lolo are now accustomed to using shotguns
628 for hitting targets beyond 100 paces. Also the fighting between
177 clan enemies no longer requires the display of finery; instead,
they have adopted the strategy of swift surprise attack, like a
clap of thunder too sudden for one to cover his ears. It merely
indicates that the introduction of modern technology has
changed their old strategy and created a new pattern of fighting.

During the old days of armed fighting, some black Lolo
562 woman would come to the field of battle in gay dresses and,
728 standing between the opposing camps, would urge the two sides
628 to stop fighting and talk peace. This woman was usually related
to both clans — for example, her maternal [sic] clan on the
one side and her conjugal clan on the other. According to Lolo
[517 tradition the appearance of a woman on the field would have
762] obligated both sides to stop fighting, but if they insisted on
continuing the feud, then the woman would strip herself naked
by taking off her skirt and then commit suicide because of the
shame. When such things happened, more kin branches and
clans might become involved, the scope of the feud be enlarged,
and eventually the fighting reach a stage beyond anybody's control.
The importing of shotguns has changed the manner of
fighting while the custom of a woman's standing between the
opposing camps has all but disappeared. During his stay in

562 Liang Shan, the author learned, however, that at least in one
728 case shooting between two enemy clans came to a halt, thanks
628 to a widow's intercession. Should one of the opposite sides disregard the widow's advice, then her conjugal clan, her maternal [sic] clan, and her mother's maternal [sic] clan would unite together to attack the common enemy. Lolo tradition respects the opinion of widows. If a widow should come forward to the field, clan-feud fighting would ordinarily cease.

628 In Lolo strategy one side usually bands together and
makes a stealthy march without the other's knowledge to give
726 the opponents a heavy blow. On the other hand, members of the opposite side, having contracted a feud, are also prepared for emergencies at any time. They would send someone to scout on the road and to hurry back, whenever they find anything suspicious, to relay the information to the clan which would then assemble its adults and dispatch them to resist the invasion. It has been mentioned previously that the Li-ch'ü and Pu-chi branches have been clan enemies for generations. When the author traveled in Pa-p'u, he personally witnessed a fight between these two branches. One early morning, the head of the household, Li-ch'ü Yo-ha, aroused the author from a sweet dream and said that a clan feud was being fought on the other side of the river. Immediately the author got out of bed, dressed, and rushed outside the village in the footsteps of the old black Lolo. When we reached the slope along the river bank, we saw more than a dozen persons already seated in a row and talking to each other. Among them were two of the interpreters, to whom the author complained of their failure to inform him beforehand of this very important incident. Looking down the slope, the author saw across the river more than a dozen able-bodied men with guns on their shoulders, chasing the enemy along the bank. [87] They opened fire westward at the village of Pu-chi-lai-wo, firing continuously more than a dozen shots. Then silence followed, signifying that the fighting was already at an end. As it happened, Pu-chi-lai-wo and I-lu, a village of the Li-ch'ü branch across the river, had been fighting each other repeatedly for some time. Last night,[1] the Pu-chi clan dispatched a band of able-bodied men to lie in ambush in the mountain behind the village of I-lu. They waited until early morning when they heard the cocks crow and then opened fire on the village with the intention of attacking it so as to kill and pillage. Lolo tradition forbids midnight attack by clan enemies, who have to wait until cockcrow before they see action. This unwritten law of the Lolo has to be obeyed by all, and violators would be subject

[1] [Errata. Should be "The night before." —Analyst]

628 to public condemnation or to joint attack by allied clans. So
726 early that morning, as soon as the people in the I-lu village
heard the shooting, they immediately assembled their adult
men to take up weapons in defense; gradually they pushed
back the men of the Pu-chi clan. Thus the invaders were
defeated; turning back by a narrow pass behind the mountain,
they retreated toward the I-che Ho and crossed it to return to
the territory of their own village. Immediately afterwards,
the men of the Li-ch'ü branch crossed the river to give them
chase. It was just at that moment that the author rushed to
the slope to observe the fighting which had lasted for more
than one hour between the able-bodied men of the two villages.

Fighting among the Lolo does not last very long. Usu-
628 ally after one or two persons, at most three to five, have been
727 wounded or killed, they retreat or stop fighting temporarily.
The Lolo do not emphasize killing and consider human lives
precious, due probably to the sparseness of the population.
When they have taken an enemy village, they do not kill any
women, children, or white Lolo slaves, but carry them away
as booty. Any captured black Lolo male, however, is usually
[577] killed in revenge. Even if he is not killed, he himself must
seek death to show his resolute spirit. Although black Lolo
nobles may be held in captivity, there is no precedent for re-
ducing them to slavery. Captured Lolo women are kept for
ransom by their own clan. All white Lolo, whether male or
female, can be enslaved or sold elsewhere.

The capture of enemy clan members, slaves, and property is considered an important part of the booty. In fighting, the Lolo never occupy enemy territory but do a lot of looting, seizing all the cattle, provisions, and other mobile property they can lay hands on. All property and slaves captured from the enemy are considered their own. Usually these pillaged articles are divided equally among the victors themselves, after having deducted funeral expenses for those members of the clan killed in action and indemnities paid for losses, such as bullets, incurred during the fight.

721 Among the Lolo, the practice of plundering and kidnapping is quite common. Not only are clan enemies robbed, but also strangers. For example, Li-ch'ü Lao-mu once singlehandedly captured three escaped Han-Chinese slaves at Huang-mao Kang and seized them as his own. Lao-mu was a headman-protector of the inspection team and [88] considered one of the so-called law-abiding persons at Liang Shan, but he too was engaged in plundering. The fact is that under certain circumstances the Lolo tolerate the seizure of other people's

721 property as one's own. This becomes a social custom with the Lolo and is not regarded as a law violation. This kind of plundering is also a very common phenomenon among the Plains Indians in America where young men usually band together to make surprise raids on neighboring tribes and to rob another's property as an exercise for developing bravery and a resolute fighting spirit. Another example is the Badawin [Bedouin?] people in northern Arabia, whose fighting and plundering among the tribes themselves have become a social tradition. The Plains Indians and the Badawin are both hunting and nomadic tribes who still preserve this kind of ravaging, warlike spirit. This point can serve as circumstantial evidence to prove that the Lolo were formerly a nomadic people still preserving their original culture.

628 728 When enemy clans are equal in strength and power, their repeated and continuous vengeance against each other may stir up a blood feud that lasts for generations. If one of the feuding clans is weak and unwilling to continue the fight, it usually urges a widow to come to the field to handle the situation or it asks some mutual friend or relative to negotiate a settlement, voluntarily making reparations or apologies to gain peace. Therefore, Lolo clan feuds are not necessarily interminable and ways exist for peaceful arbitration.

Negotiations for settling clan feuds are usually conducted by mutual friends and relatives. As mediators, they run around and negotiate peace terms acceptable to both; then a peace ceremony is performed after the agreement. As mentioned before, in the case of Li-ch'ü Ta-i and Po Ts'an-k'ai, Po's background was closely tied in with Tai-ti, daughter of the late Yang T'u-szu. The same day Tai-ti returned to Lei-po, Ta-i mustered a crowd to destroy the corn at Wang-shen P'o; the county magistrate Li, suspecting a Lolo riot, ordered Wang Yü-an to invite Li-ch'ü Ta-chi to serve together as mediators. So Wang and Li-ch'ü contacted both parties in an effort to negotiate and concluded the following terms for settlement:

1. Po Ts'an-k'ai, being the guilty party, should apologize to the black Lolo, Li-ch'ü Ta-i. According to old Lolo custom, one who makes the apology should wear a piece of gold on the head, put on a silk garment, and ride a piebald horse. Actually, this is equivalent to furnishing a complete set of a gold cap, a silk garment, and a horse as reparation gifts. Today, however, only the names remain and all these gifts can be converted into ounces of silver as an indemnity payment. Thus the indemnity items to be offered by Po Ts'an-k'ai are a piece of gold on his head equivalent in value to ten

628 ounces of silver; a silk garment equivalent to five ounces;
728 and a piebald horse equivalent to ten ounces. In other words, Po has to pay 25 ounces of silver to Ta-i as reparation for all the damages.

2. Li-ch'ü Ta-i, by offending T'u-szu's household, should pay a piebald horse, or ten ounces [89], as indemnity to Yang Tai-ti.

3. The steward Su's cornfield at Wang-shen P'o was destroyed without any justifiable reason, but it is difficult to figure out who is responsible for making the reparation. Ta-i is the one who destroyed the corn, but he did this to revenge the wrongs he had suffered and is unwilling to make any compensation. On the other hand, since Su and Po are both fellow stewards at Yang T'u-szu's household, Su does not want to accept any indemnity from Po. For these reasons, the mediators together urge the two neighboring families, A-cho Liu-liu and A-cho Hsueh-pu, who live near the fields at Wang-shen P'o, to contribute together seven ounces of silver to steward Su in the name of maintaining peace and order in the community. The two A-cho families are both former subjects of Yang T'u-szu, so after due explanation and solicitation they agree to pay the money to settle the dispute. Although seven ounces of silver are not enough to pay for the damage to the field, steward Su is willing to effect an early settlement of the clan feud to avoid further hostility between the members of the Yang household and the others.

The terms for settling Po Ts'an-k'ai's case were thus agreed upon, but they were never put into effect. When the inspection team first arrived at Lei-po, we heard immediately that Li-ch'ü Ta-i had kidnapped steward Su's son on the way and kept him at Ma-liu Wan village as a hostage. It was not until the time the author went to inspect the village that, through the negotiations of our headman-protector, Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, Ta-i was willing to release the boy and let him go home. The case, however, is still pending.

628 After several rounds of plundering and killing in clan-
728 feud fighting, arrangements would be made at the time of reconciliation to match one death for another, black Lolo for
682 black Lolo, and white Lolo for white Lolo. If the number of persons killed cannot be matched, then one side would have to pay the other a sum of money for the extra life it had taken in the feud. This is the so-called blood money practiced by many primitive societies. For example, in a feud between families A and B, five persons are killed in family A and three persons in family B; after cancelling out the three persons killed in

628 each family. B owes A an indemnity for the two extra lives it
728 took. A high price is paid for black Lolo and a lower price
for white Lolo. Besides payment, they would also try to find
682 out the cause of the feud. If A started the feud, it has to pay
B an indemnity in lieu of an apology.

The day on which peace is concluded, payments are
628 made through a middleman and a ceremony is held to cele-
728 brate the peaceful settlement. Usually a mountain slope is
574 selected as the meeting place for both sides and the side which
is to make the apology would kill oxen, sheep, pigs, and
chickens to entertain the guests. Before the feast, they kill
a chicken and drop its blood in the wine to be drunk by a
representative from each side as a covenant that from now on
they would resume friendly relations. After the covenant,
they hold a big feast, welcoming each other with drinks, and
leave only when everyone has had a good time.

In Lolo society, since the clan is primary in social or-
614 ganization, everybody in the clan shares the same responsi-
682 bility and obligation. The individual is a member of the clan
628 organization. Any injury to the individual is considered an
offense to the clan. So if one of its members is killed, the
clan organization would come forward [90] for vengeance by
killing a member of the opposite group to atone for the death.
That a life is paid for by another life is an unwritten law of
Lolo society. The way to enforce this law is to utilize the
organization's common responsibility and the mechanism of
clan-feud fighting.

Members of the same clan are not permitted to fight
614 feuds. Today, however, on account of the rapid growth of
682 numerous branches within the clan, there are occasionally
627 the misfortunes of fighting and killing between different
branches of the same clan. All intraclan disputes are com-
monly arbitrated by an influential black Lolo in the clan. In
the case of a murder, Lolo tradition requires that the killer
pay with his life and no indemnity money be accepted. When
Li-ch'ü Ta-i accidently killed the son of Li-ch'ü Pieh-t'u. In
that same year, Pieh-t'u, who was Ta-i's younger uncle of the
paternal clan, invited all clansmen to a meeting and to a feast
for which an ox was killed. The clansmen decided that Ta-i
[762] would have to pay with his life. Reluctantly, Ta-i accepted the
decision and twice attempted suicide without success. It was only
after Pieh-t'u's sudden death that no one would press for the for-
feit of Ta-i's life. At the same time Ta-i's wife's family, the
En-cha branch, which was quite strong and influential, did not
want Ta-i to pay with his life; so they came forward to negotiate

614 for an indemnity price. As Pieh-t'u had been dead and Ta-i
682 had gradually become prominent, no one in the Li-ch'ü clan
dared raise any objection. Therefore, due to human relations
627 and environmental factors, the traditional rule of paying with
one's life for killing a clan member has also been waived and
gradually changed in form and direction.

Nonetheless, in Lolo society, the killing of a blood
578 kinsman of a near branch sometimes still calls for the pay-
682 ment of life for life. For close relatives, such as brothers,
father's younger brothers, and brother's sons, as well as
father's sister's sons, mother's brother's sons, mother's
sister's sons, and others who are involved in mutual feud
killing, the killers all have to pay with their lives. To cite
a case previously mentioned: Mo-shih Tso-t'i, who had been
studying at the military academy in Ch'eng-tu, unfortunately
had to return home for business before his graduation. It
happened that at the time his elder brother was acting as a
headman-protector to take more than a dozen Han-Chinese
merchants from northern Yunnan to Liang Shan. The brother
discussed with Tso-t'i his plot of kidnapping the Han-Chinese
merchants as slaves in an act of reverse protection. Tso-t'i,
[177] however, who had recently received an education, knew that
the Han-Chinese and the Lolo were of the same national
family as citizens of the Republic of China, so he resisted his
brother's advances. The latter argued violently with Tso-t'i
[762] and insisted on reverse protection with the result that in a fit
of temper Tso-t'i killed himself with a gun. The clan members
[672] felt that Tso-t'i's brother should pay for the death with his
life, but since Tso-t'i was not actually killed by his brother,
the case remained undecided for a long time and is still not
settled today.

On conclusion, within the framework of clan kinship,
614 the Lolo are encouraged to unite together and share collective
672 responsibility so that clan members would not fight each
other in a feud, and anyone who kills a member of his clan
must pay with his own life. However, in external clan re-
614 lationships, the clan feud is an important structure in their
social life. As they have a warlike pattern in fighting clan
628 feuds generation after generation, their young men first
555 learn from them the art of fighting and later they themselves
182 organize expeditionary teams to attack clan enemies and to
rob and kill on route. Eventually the more people one kills
and the more booty he seizes, the more famous he becomes
and the higher his social position. Gradually he gets the
title of headman-protector and becomes [91] a political leader.

628 Fighting in a clan feud is also a practical measure of enforcing the law in a primitive society. That a life must be
152 paid for with a life can thus be resolved through some form of war. Feud killing and revenge within the blood clan, as well as the payment of blood money, are all examples of law enforcement. This kind of unwritten statute is likewise a very important force in restraining human action.

Clan feud is a part of the economic structure. Not only are many feuds caused by economic conflict, but they also provide an occasion to seize another clan's property and enslave its members, thereby increasing one's own.

The tradition of fighting in clan feuds helps Lolo society to maintain a military spirit and to promote brave deeds. Furthermore, the need to deal with enemy clans tends to increase group solidarity. In case of invasion by Han-Chinese soldiers, the different Lolo branches would all unite together for common defense. In other words, the cultural pattern of fighting in clan feuds not only gives the different Lolo branches a military check on one another to maintain the balance of power, but at the same time helps to preserve their courageous warlike spirit in the defense of their Liang Shan headquarters.

[92] CHAPTER 9

MAGIC

000 Magic also occupies a very important position in Lolo social life. Among primitive people, magic and religion often blend and are inseparable; in this respect the Lolo are not an exception. Magic and religion not only govern human action and behavior, maintain social order and peace, but also control the psychological attitudes of primitive people and nourish their traditional moral concepts. In short, from a study of the magic and religion of the primitive people, we can learn their psychological responses to environmental adjustment, as well as the manifestations of their thought.

In order to learn the conditions of Lolo magic, one should investigate the differences and the interrelationships between magic, religion, and science. Magic and religion deal with the supernatural world, and science with the physical world. However, science and magic also have certain things in common. Their objectives are the same, they have a similar concept of the law of cause and effect, and they both apply mechanical techniques. The main difference is that science applies the law of causation and mechanical techniques to the physical world whereas magic applies them to the supernatural. In their concept of the universe, primitive people do not distinguish between natural and supernatural phenomena; they believe they can attain their goals merely through the observance of traditional procedures and the application of techniques. Therefore, J. G. Frazer once remarked that a magician is a scientist among primitive people. Actually, by dealing with the concept of causation in a supernatural world, magic often fails to achieve empirical results. This is because the cause-and-effect relationship in the supernatural world, created by man's imagination, is based on analogies that are erroneous and has no *raison d'être* in the natural world.

Both magic and religion deal with the supernatural world and are so closely linked as to be almost inseparable. Since Frazer's time, anthropologists have made comparatively detailed studies of the differentiation and interrelationships between magic and religion, but they have not evolved any method for a strict demarcation of the two. In fact, magic

000 and religion have so much in common and are so much dependent upon each other for mutual development that there is no clearcut borderline between them. But, in the two outermost limits of their common domain, there should be a well-demarcated area for either magic or religion. Otherwise, [93] we would have no way of understanding or explaining the many symbolic acts of a primitive culture.

771 In Lolo society, there are two different concepts of the physical world. The first involves the supernatural power of inanimate objects, such as stones, silver, clothes, ornaments, and others, all possessed by spirits — quite similar to the Polynesian concept of *mana*. The other concept involves supernatural beings that belong to animate, personified objects, such as mountain spirits and ghosts of the deceased. These two types of concepts entail different results in the process of religious development. Man's concept of the universe is derived from two different sets of analogies. The first set, which is related to the formation of supernatural power, develops from the observation of special physical traits, such as color, shape, weight, durability, and so forth, into the belief in animatism or *mana*. The other set of analogies develops from the observation of men's wills, inclinations, and objectives into the belief in animism or that of the spirit.

778 There are many evidences of the belief in animatism in Lolo society. As mentioned in the foregoing chapter, the use of protective charms, such as lamb's wool, tiger's whiskers, fingernails, and hair, to safeguard the fighters on the battlefield during clan feuds points to a belief in animatism. In a [768] Lolo family, personal effects left behind by the ancestors, such as clothes, ornaments, silver, utensils, and others, all become, after a period of time, *chi-lo*, which nobody dare disturb lest something happen to endanger the family. *Chi-lo* is an animatistic concept similar to *mana*, and it is a mistake to consider the Lolo's *chi-lo* as a family god. For example, the Chiang family near Huang-lang, which was a Sinicized Lolo family, had inherited from its ancestors three boxes: a box of silver, one of clothes, and one of jewelry and ornaments. One day, a niece of the Chiang family came back to visit her uncle. By accident she came upon these boxes, opened them, and took out the clothes and jewels to try on. The next day everything in the boxes had disappeared, the *chi-lo* having fled. Since then the Chiang family declined. So, the *chi-lo* of the Lolo family is a spirit, mysterious and forbidden to the touch; once disturbed, the *chi-lo* would run away, which would spell disaster for the family. The belief in the *chi-lo*, however,

778 is limited to the mysterious quality or the supernatural power of the object without involving any concept of ghosts and spirits.

[94] The belief in the souls, spirits, and ghosts is even more popular and universal in Lolo society. All kinds of sickness, death, and misfortune are due to the evil influence of the ghosts. Their names are many: ghosts of persons hanged, ghosts of dysentery, ghosts of persons murdered, su-nieh ghosts, ghosts of strangers, monkey ghosts, headache ghosts, and countless others. All ghosts and evil spirits can cause evil and bring disturbance and harm to human beings. So the Lolo are particularly afraid of the ghosts and have numerous rituals to control them. The spirits are not consistent in their good or bad behavior. Good spirits protect and aid the living, whereas bad spirits could change into ghosts to plague them. After death, family ancestors change into spirits following a soul-delivery ceremony. The original ancestor of the pi-mu is also a spirit who can be invoked to descend to earth. The Lolo do not make offerings to images or worship them. They have no concept of monotheism. All natural phenomena, such as sky, earth, sun, and moon, have spirits, but since these have little bearing on daily life, no ritual for their worship has evolved. The mountain spirit, called mi-hsi in the Lolo language, is comparatively the most important because it controls rain and is always invoked during rain-praying. Different mountains have different spirits who are not interrelated. The Lolo belief in the mountain spirit as an agent of rain control is diametrically opposed to the Chinese belief in the dragon king as the controller of rain. This merely indicates that religious ideas are influenced by the natural environment. The Lolo who live on high mountain tops have observed that the clouds, fog, and rain all descend from the peaks.

775 753 776 [782] [821]

771 Animatism and animism co-exist in Lolo society and together constitute their religious thought. However, they differ in practical operation. On the one hand, magic power relies upon technical devices for its practice, and on the other the individual communicates with the supernatural world through a spiritualistic medium. The Lolo pi-mu is concurrently a chief priest and a magician. When he recites the scripture to communicate with spirits and when he officiates at sacrificial ceremonies, he assumes the position of a priest and spiritual medium; when he imprecates to subdue ghosts and when he performs ceremonies to cure sickness, he becomes a magician. Actually, the main duty of a Lolo pi-mu is none other than the practice of magic.

791 793 756

791 793 756 The pi-mu is a unique figure in Lolo society and quite different from ordinary people in his responsibility. He specializes in religious and magic activities. There is at least one pi-mu in each village, either a black or a white Lolo, but at present most pi-mu are white Lolo. Only a male can become a pi-mu. He goes through a tutorial system, the only kind of formal instruction among the Lolo which requires learning and training. Tutorial instruction is usually handed down from father to son or from uncle to nephew as a family occupation. The pi-mu keeps in the family scriptural books,
[779] including those on ancestral legends, fortune-telling, divination, invocation, exorcism, praying for rain, and others, all transmitted and copied in Lolo. [95] The Lolo written lan-
[212] guage is not commonly used, and its preservation and transmission are to be credited mainly to the pi-mu.

791 756 [787] Besides the pi-mu, there is another kind of magician called su-nieh. The su-nieh has no tutor. He is just an ordinary person possessed by a su-nieh ghost that causes sickness or loss of mind, but later, after having sacrificed to it a white sheep and a white chicken in the woods and having recovered from sickness, he becomes a su-nieh. Both men and women can become su-nieh, but the art is not transmittible and also scriptures do not exist. Ordinarily, when a su-nieh performs
[755] magic to cure sickness, he beats a sheepskin drum, whirls and dances — his whole body shivering and his mouth muttering chants — moves around and imprecates to the utmost of his ability.

Although the pi-mu and the su-nieh belong to different systems, they have the common aim of practicing magic. The duty of a pi-mu is very complicated, while that of a su-nieh is comparatively simple. We shall describe separately their work and performances to make clear the position of magic among the Lolo.

787 First, let us discuss divination, a form of divine revelation that foretells good or bad fortune. There are two opposite kinds of divination. The first kind is prediction made by the god through human mouth, or the communication of divine will by the priest in forecasting future developments — a type of divination practiced universally in Siberia, Africa, and Polynesia. The other kind is practiced through the observation of physical objects or of animal entrails, bones, skeletons, and other things. In order to foretell the future, the magician has to have strict technical training to enable him to observe the important positions and spots of animal bones and entrails. It is to this kind that the entire system of Lolo divination belongs.

791 Although it can also be performed by ordinary persons, Lolo divination is practiced mostly by the *pi-mu*. On occasions such as weddings, funerals, sickness, traveling, hunting, and clan-feud fighting, divination is performed to forecast good or bad fortune. There are many forms of divination, of which it suffices to mention only a few to give a general idea. The commonest form is bone divination by means of roasted lamb shoulders. The *pi-mu* first takes a lamb shoulder, burns it on a grass fire, and then examines carefully the cracks formed on the bone to determine the good or bad omens for the occasion. The main form of the crack is usually shaped like a cross and can be divided into four lines: upper and lower, right and left. The left line represents oneself, the right line ghosts and evil spirits, the upper line the outside, and the lower line the inside. If the left line is straight and long, it presages good luck because this shows that the person himself is stronger than the evil spirit; the contrary denotes bad luck, in this case the ghost being stronger than he is. A lower part that is more clearly visible and straight than the upper also augurs good luck. In short, there are different kinds of detailed explanations for these cracks, from which one can get some idea of their significance. Bone divination also involves the examination of mottled spots on a pig's rib, as well as the outside and inside curves of the cartilage of a chicken's bill, all these signs presaging good or evil luck.

The *pi-mu* also kills chicken for divination. First, he recites the name of the person and the thing to be asked for, [96] then he kills the chicken and throws it outside the door to determine from the direction of its head the kind of luck the person will have. The direction outside represents ghosts and evil spirits and the direction inside, oneself; thus it presages good luck if the chicken's head faces outside and bad luck if it faces inside. If it faces neither side, or if it lies across, then it is even luck. Still more popular is divination with an egg, usually practiced to query the ghost about sickness. When the [155] author was in Lei-pao,‡ he personally saw the *pi-mu*, Hu Chan-yün, rub the body of his patient with an egg; then, while reciting an incantation, he broke the egg in a bowl of water to examine the radiating points of the yoke to determine the kind of ghost that caused the illness.

Wood carving is another method of divination, used mostly to find out about traveling and fighting. In the former case, the simplest method is to take a strip or a slice of wood, recite the name of the person and the direction in which he will be traveling, and then use a knife to carve many marks on the

‡[Errata. Should be Lei-po —Analyst]

787 wood and a long line in the middle. The forecast is made by counting the number of carved stripes on the upper and lower sections, the upper representing ghosts and evil spirits, and the lower, oneself. An odd number betokens good luck, an even number, bad luck. If there happens to be an even number on the upper part and an odd number on the lower — a position which affirms one's strength and the ghost's weakness — then this will be considered [illegible] omen of supreme luck. While in Ta-liang Shan, the [illegible] team had a quarrel with A-cho Chê-chio and did not [illegible] which route, whether north or south, to take for the return trip. On the eve of the journey, our headman-protector, Li-chü Ta-chi, secretly asked a pi-mu to divine by wood carving and was told that the northern route was the lucky one. The author did not learn about it until afterwards from his interpreter, Wang Chü-sung, and regretted that he did not personally participate in this activity.

000 By foretelling fortune or misfortune, good or bad luck, divination is a kind of magic that controls destiny. Both religion and magic become effective in human life under intense emotional situations. By these are meant crucial points in a man's life, such as birth and marriage, sickness and death, business failure, clan-feud fighting and killing, as well as those irremediable moods of anger and hatred. Under these circumstances, there is no other outlet for human intelligence or experience but to rely upon faith and ritual as an escape into the realm of the supernatural. In agricultural enterprise, many primitive people, on the basis of their daily experience and common scientific knowledge, would perforce engage in burning the forest, plowing the fields, sowing and weeding, removing harmful insects, and driving away the birds and animals in order to get a good crop. But often the primitive people also make use of grain-shaped stones, which they bury in the earth in the hope of invoking these stones to increase the harvest. Since rain helps the growth of the grain during drought, the primitive people rely upon the ritual of praying for rain to control the weather. Therefore, in their minds, they conceive of science and magic as having a cause and effect relationship, but they cannot see clearly the dividing line between physical and supernatural worlds.

171 [97] Lolo religion is still in a primitive stage, intermingled and inseparable from magic, while all its practices lean heavily toward magical activities. Magic is based strictly on traditional techniques. It is believed that the goals to be sought would be attained if the techniques were applied correctly. Lolo magic, likewise, was created from the tensions of life and handed down from generation to generation.

755 There are many kinds of sickness in Lolo families, but
instead of using medicine, they effect cures through magic.
First, the *pi-mu* will decide which evil spirit caused the sick-
ness; then he will perform magic to cure it through exorcism.
The way to cure a sick person is to send off the evil spirit,
called "sending off the Buddha" by the Han-Chinese of the
border regions. According to Lolo tradition, all sicknesses
[753] and misfortunes are caused by evil spirits. Therefore, three
751 times each year, on the third, seventh, and tenth months of
789 the lunar calendar, they perform an exorcising ceremony for
the purpose of driving away the ghosts to ensure peace and
safety for the family.

756 While the author was staying at San-ho-i-ta in Ta-
789 ling[1] Shan, he witnessed with his own eyes an exorcising cere-
mony at Li-ch'ü Ta-chi's household. The *pi-mu*, a villager,
was a white Lolo called Shê-chia-erh. Followed by his dis-
ciple, who was none other than his twelve-or thirteen-year-old
son, he performed with a bagful of magic tools. Both master
789 and disciple sat side by side behind the kitchen stove which was
ordinarily the seat for honored guests. The father and son
tied together a straw figure and cut some wood into tiny pieces
that looked like coins. Then Shê-chia-erh rang a bell and be-
gan to recite the scripture, his disciple following him in the
recitation. As they were chanting the scripture, they worked
with their hands on the straw figure. The *pi-mu* then put a
piece of stone inside the stove until it became red hot, after
which he took it out of the stove, carried it with him to the
master's bedroom, and walked around it once as if to chase
away the ghosts. After this he came back and sat down again
on the ground to recite more scripture, at the same time dis-
tributing the wooden pieces.

After the *pi-mu* had tied up four straw figures, Ta-chi,
his wife nee En-cha, and their three children all squatted on
the right side of the stove, the whole family making a circle.
A white Lolo slave then grasped a cock with both hands and
circled it above Ta-chi's head nine times before handing it to
Shê-chia-erh. Then, with all his strength, the *pi-mu* struck
the cock's neck with a sharp knife, all the time incessantly
reciting the charms. After the cock had died, its blood was
spread over the straw figures and the feathers were stuck on
their bodies. The slave then led in a goat and held it seven
times around Ta-chi's and the others' heads before killing
it and sprinkling its blood over the straw figures. As the
[801] Lolo consider an odd number to be lucky, there has to be
seven or nine rounds. The death of the cock and goat has the

[1] [Errata, Should be "liang" — Analyst.]

789 idea of vicarious suffering for another's sins, somewhat similar to the Jewish concept of the scapegoat.

The pi-mu continued to perform many kinds of magic, blowing on the chicken to make noise and distributing the wooden coins. At the same time the Lolo inside the house shouted [98] and yelled, making noise until midnight. Finally they carried the straw figures and wooden coins outside the house to be thrown away in distant places before they burst forth into another round of outcries. The straw figures, shaped after the evil spirits, represent what Frazer calls imitative magic. After the vicarious punishment of the chicken and goat, these figures would be cast off outside the house so that they would not cast evil spells inside to further injure the living or cause illness.

The interpreter of the inspection team, Hu Chan-yün, was also a Lolo pi-mu. He once told the author that the first
[176] scripture which Shê-chia-erh recited is an invitation to the mountain spirit, mi-hsi, which shows that the Lolo pay special attention to the mountain spirits; the second scripture contains an imprecation on those clan enemies who have been cursing the master of the family; the third is a book of exorcism to expel the ghosts and evil spirits from the house. The Lolo believe that the spells cast by evil spirits originate from enemy imprecations, and that the method of delivery from the curse is a counter-imprecation through exorcism, which will bring destruction to the enemies of the family.

755 The su-nieh is a Lolo magician who also specializes in curing sickness, but his magic differs slightly from that of the pi-mu. After having led a sheep or a pig around the body of a sick person three times, the su-nieh kills the animal and places it outside the door. His body shivering all over, he leaps and beats on a drum, uttering meaningless loud cries; next, holding in his mouth the sheep's genitals, he tosses them to and fro three or four times. The sheep's skin is then peeled off and given to him as a reward for his services, in the same way as the pi-mu gets his animal skin. Finally, after taking up a jar shaped from mud and covered with a lid, the su-nieh goes into the house to search for evil spirits to put inside the jar, which is immediately covered and taken out to be buried in the ground. This means that the evil spirit has been buried and will never again cast its harmful spell on the people.

From the rituals of exorcism it can be seen that the
789 Lolo practice imprecation in clan feuds to destroy their ene-
754 mies. As we know, there are two kinds of magic, the white

789 and the black. White magic is for good intentions, such as
754 praying for rain; black magic is for harmful intentions, such as the imprecation of enemies and so forth. The pi-mu is also invited to make imprecations, sometimes sponsored by one family alone and other times by a clan or a village, depending upon whether they are against individual or common enemies.

754 There are different ways of making imprecations, which cannot be completely enumerated here. However, a few examples will suffice to give a general picture. First, kill a dog and recite from the scripture. The enemy thus cursed will die when he sees the dog. The dead dog is always hung on a tree in the middle of the road to prevent the enemy from crossing over. During this trip the author saw many dogs hanging — evidence of the black magic practiced by the Lolo. Second, kill a chicken and imprecate over it. This method involves hanging the chicken's head in the direction of the enemy so as to harm him. Third, use a pheasant or a wild pigeon, on whose neck is tied the name of the enemy written by a pi-mu. After having performed [99] the magic and made the imprecation, the bird is set free so that it will fly over to the enemy's homestead to strike him with sudden disease and death. Fourth, make a straw figure of the enemy and imprecate it over the blood and feathers of a chicken. Afterwards, the figure is carried to the enemy's fields so that in passing the place, the enemy will inevitably encounter the evil spirit and die. Fifth, carve on a piece of wood the enemy's figure and write on it the enemy's name with snake blood. Then the figure is secretly thrown inside the enemy's household, upon which great calamity will inevitably descend. A sixth method is to make a straw figure out of a piece of leprous leg bone and to imprecate the enemy's name over it. This is then placed stealthily inside the enemy's house or in his fields so that he will die from the curse. The imprecation over the straw figure made with a leprous bone represents a combined use of imitative and contagious magic. It is imitative in that the straw figure imitates the shape of the enemy, and contagious in that leprosy can be made infectious to him. The combination of these two forms of magic is known as sympathetic magic.

789 The Lolo practice black magic. In their secret contest against clan enemies, they often engage in mutual imprecation and search for powerful means to threaten and injure the opposite side and for magic to repel enemy attack. Sometimes,

789 because of unlucky portents, they also ask the pi-mu to perform magic to find out where the enemy has buried the bone so as to destroy the wicked plot. In brief, the Lolo use magic to fight magic, and the battle of magic coincides with and parallels the battle of weapons.

[775] 784 At the time of death, according to Lolo belief, a man's soul runs away from this world to another. Like many other primitive people, they regard death as an important juncture and crisis in life. During this turning-point, their emotions are not only tense but also complicated. During the burial ceremony are expressed on the one hand the respect and love for the dead and on the other hand a sense of fear that comes as a reaction to the decaying human body.

Practically all the people in the world have similar funeral rites attended by close relatives. When a member of the Lolo family breathes his last, not only the whole family mourns together, but all his relatives, neighbors, friends, and slaves come to offer condolences by presenting gifts of oxen, wine, and various other items. Then they wash the corpse, arrange his hair, dress him in new clothes and ornaments, and assemble for a round of crying and mourning, after which they kill oxen or sheep to feast and drink together.

The Lolo practice cremation. The entire corpse is [787] burned after a person has been dead a day or two, or longer, the period to be determined by the pi-mu who selects the lucky date. They make a coarse wooden chair with two long boards on either side and a wooden plank across the middle — altogether nine pieces of wood for a man and seven pieces for a woman. The fully dressed corpse is then [100] placed on the wooden chair to be carried outside the house by four white Lolo slaves. Another slave in the front leads with a saddled horse and walks directly to the cremation ground to signify that the soul is departing on horseback. The place for burning the corpse is usually on a mountain at the back of the house. They spade a square piece of level ground, plant wooden stakes at the four corners, and on the forks above the stakes lay four horizontal pieces of wood as a scaffolding. Above it is placed a square plaited sieve of bamboo, on which is laid the wooden chair with the corpse. For the cremation, torches are lighted simultaneously on all four sides. When the flames rise, the Lolo outside the house immediately kill an ox with a big knife and beat the sheep to death with wooden poles in preparation for sacrificial offerings and a feast for the living.

[767 564] People who specialize in burning corpses are usually old and poor white Lolo, as most people are unwilling to take up this job.

764 up this job. The corpse, always cremated in the early morning
before sunrise, is attended by family relatives who keep watch
of the fire. The corpse-watchers have to be odd in number,
either seven or nine. After the ox and sheep have been cooked
in the house, they are carried to the place of cremation, where
all the people assemble and eat together, drinking to their full
capacity. The ashes of the corpse are sometimes buried un-
derground and sometimes scattered in the forest where there
is no trace of living beings. After cremation the whole fam-
764 ily stays outside the house and only one person can remain in-
783 side to take the pi-mu around. The door is then closed as the
latter performs magic with a sieve to sift out the soul of the
dead and to purify the household.

At the time of cremation, the Lolo invite the pi-mu to
778 make a spirit tablet of the dead. This is almost like the first
769 stage of ancestor worship. The spirit tablet is made from a
wooden stick about five inches long and split into two parts
with a small hollow made in the inner side of each of them.
This is called the spirit house. Next, the pi-mu takes from
the burial ground a small piece of bamboo, preferably a young
shoot, and cuts it into a small slip. With wool sheared in
March, the slip is bound with cotton thread — nine rounds for
a man and seven for a woman. This bundle represents the
soul and is placed inside the spirit house. Then the two pieces
of split wood are put together — so that the spirit being is
laid inside the hole never to be seen again — and bound on the
upper outside with hemp twine, again seven rounds for a
woman and nine for a man, the whole wrapped in a white cotton
cloth. After the pi-mu has performed magic to remove im-
purities, it becomes a spirit tablet and is placed on a wooden
board on the wall behind the kitchen stove. At New Year festi-
[782] vals and at the time of exorcism for sickness, the pi-mu per-
forms magic and kills victims to sacrifice to the spirit, en-
tertaining it with wine and food.

775 Unlike the Han-Chinese who make offerings to ances-
796 tral tablets and worship them for generations, the Lolo are
permitted to remove their spirit tablets after a soul-delivery
769 ceremony. The aim of this ceremony is to release the souls
of the ancestors so that they can enter the other world. The
ceremony, generally very solemn, is performed either singly
by one family or [101] through the combined efforts of several
families, the elaborateness or simplicity of the ritual de-
pending upon the economic ability of the family or the clan.
It is usually held a year, sometimes three or five years, after
the death of their ancestor. There are cases of the ceremony

775
796 being postponed ten or more years, even several decades, be-
769 fore it is held.

The ceremony for delivering the soul is an occasion
[614] for the clan and kin members to get together; on the one side
796 it has a rigid ritual and on the other it is a group gathering
769 for feasting and drinking, where one enjoys social life to the
778 fullest. The complete ritual consists of prayers to the twelve heavenly courts, lasting about ten or more days and involving expenses greater than all other activities. Thus, only a
[556] wealthy family can afford such an affair. Usually the ceremony covers only one or two courts or several courts. It is performed by the pi-mu for a number of purposes, such as removing impurities, returning the spirits to their proper places, invoking peace and blessings on the descendants, and praying for the abundance of harvests. Finally, there is also the function of sending off the ancestral spirits. This usually involves the reopening of the spirit tablet of the parents; the making of a new wooden stick as a spirit house; and the placing together of the parents' old spirit beings in the spirit house of the new wooden stick, with the father's spirit on the top and the mother's spirit at the bottom. This is also an example of imitative magic. Later they put the two halves of the wooden stick together, binding them at both ends with a white cloth. When it is time to send off the spirits, the stick is carried on the back by the son, the pi-mu leading the way, to a rocky cave in the high mountains where there is no trace of human life. It is said that this is the meeting place of the clan's ancestral spirits. During all this time, the pi-mu recites the scripture, pointing the way for the spirits to the Ta-po Ho — the other world in Lolo belief. Once inside the mountain cave, three to five clan members begin to untie the newly made wooden stick and re-examine the ancestral tablets to make sure that there is nothing wrong before the stick is tied together again and left inside the mountain cave.
[782] Then they partake of a half of a pig's brain, which they brought with them, and place the skull filled with wine in front of the spirit tablets as an offering. After this they return home and no other ceremony for worship is held again.

796 On the one hand, the funeral ceremony facilitates the safe passage of ancestral spirits to the other world through
769 ritual practices based on the belief in ghosts and spirits; on the other hand, by getting together and performing ceremonies under tense emotional conditions, it seeks to enable the living persons to go through the crisis and return gradually to their normal daily life, thereby maintaining the equilibrium of human society.

789 Death, of course, is an important phase of human life, but business failure is also a critical or turning point. The Lolo rely upon agricultural products for their principal food; whenever drought occurs to threaten the crops, the Lolo will undertake a rain-praying ceremony in order to control the weather through magic. To pray for rain, they always use a white sheep or a white chicken to propitiate the mountain spirit. The pi-mu performs magic by scattering chicken blood and feathers in different places so that it will look like rain and snow. This is also [102] imitative magic. The recognition of [825] white birds and animals as something sacred and mysterious is a universal phenomenon in primitive society. For example, the white horse in Syria and Central Asia, and the white ox, white deer, and white fox among the American Indians are all considered supernatural. When the pi-mu performs, the villagers would help by yelling and making a loud noise. Some of them would shoot a gun to shock the mountain spirit, while the others would cry madly to scare away the ghosts and evil spirits. They run around and bestir themselves to the utmost to enable the rain to fall down from the precipices and to help accomplish the purpose of magic.

784 The Lolo have many kinds of interdiction which is called "taboo" in the English language. According to Frazer's interpretation, it is a negative magic. For instance, people are forbidden to step over the kitchen stove because it will offend the god of fire, the basic reason being that fire can harm human life; it is forbidden to saddle a horse inside the house because this is connected with the ritual for sending off the dead; a person going on a trip is not allowed to sweep the ground before leaving the house lest the evil spirits follow him and cause him trouble on the road. Interdictions like these are too many to be enumerated. Whereas positive magic is what ought to be done to achieve a certain goal, negative magic is what should not be done to avoid misfortune. Therefore, interdiction is only an extension of magic.

The Lolo also practice the ordeal, which is another form 695 of magic, to determine a person's guilt. For instance, groping for an egg is used for trying a suspect. This method calls for the pi-mu to first recite the scripture, then boil a large pan of water, and throw the egg in it. The suspect is ordered to put his hand in the boiling water to pick up the egg. If his hand is not scalded, he is proved innocent. The method of chewing rice in the mouth is another kind of ordeal. After the pi-mu has recited the scripture, the suspect is asked to put a small pinch of red or white rice into the mouth and to spit it out after

695 chewing to see if there is any blood on the rice. If not, then he is not guilty. Ordeal is practiced on members of the same clan for stealing, robbing, cheating, and so forth. While it is an [673 honorable deed to rob and steal from enemy clans, it is considered a crime to do the same to members of one's own clan. 609] Sometimes crimes can be resolved through a blood covenant. Also, a white Lolo, if he wants, can win the black Lolo's confidence through swearing or candid confession. To do this, he kills a chicken and drops its blood into the wine, which he drinks in one draught. This will have the effect of signifying that any unlawful cheating of his master will result in his suffering the same fate as the dead chicken.

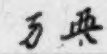
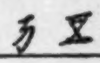
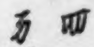
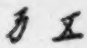
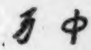
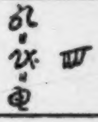
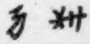
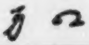
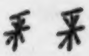
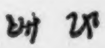
675 789 Covenant is a form of action used by the Lolo to win the confidence of others. Its performance involves the use of magic, but it is also a contract according to primitive law. Whenever there are business transactions, guarantees for safe travel, or an alliance in clan-feud fighting, they always hire a pi-mu to kill the chicken and imprecate over it, both sides [103] pledging each other with blood wine. There is another example called "ch'ü ox hide," a form of covenant made by the black Lolo when they surrender to Han-Chinese officials, or when they guarantee the safe passage of Han-Chinese officials in Liang Shan. To perform it, they kill an ox and hang its skin with the head, tail, and four legs on a wooden scaffold, the whole should look like an ox standing with its head facing east and the tail toward the west. At the time the pi-mu recites the scripture and performs magic, the black Lolo who are surrendering crawl in from under the tail of the ox and then come out from under the head; meanwhile they swear that they will not rebel again. The blood wine is then brought forth and drunk together by both the Han-Chinese and the Lolo. As the most solemn form of covenant, it is also a manifestation of the magic power that rules over Lolo society.

APPENDIX I

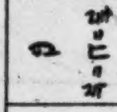
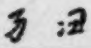
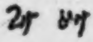
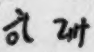
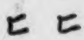
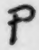
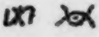
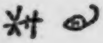
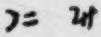
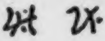
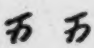
Lolo Kinship Terms

601

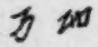
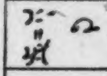
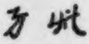
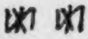
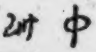
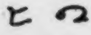
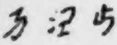
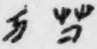
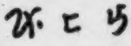
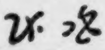
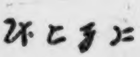
A. A Table of Principal Lolo Kinship Terms

Lolo Language	Lolo Pronunciation	Chinese Translation	English Translation
	a dzo	曾祖,高祖,外曾祖	Father's paternal grandfather, father's father's paternal grandfather, mother's paternal grandfather.
	a pi-a	曾祖母,高祖母 外曾祖母	Father's paternal grandfather's wife, father's father's paternal grandfather's wife, mother's paternal grandfather's wife
	a pu	祖,伯祖,叔祖	Father's father, father's father's elder brother, father's father's younger brother.
	a a	祖母,伯祖母,叔祖母,外祖姨母	Father's father's wife, father's father's elder brother's wife, father's father's younger brother's wife, mother's father's sister.
	a ma	祖姑,外祖母,堂外祖母,岳祖母	Father's father's sister, mother's mother, mother's father's brother's wife, wife's father's father's wife.
	o pu	外祖,堂外祖, 岳祖父	Mother's father, mother's father's brother, wife's father's father.
	a bo	父	Father.
	a mo	母	Mother.
	da da	大伯父(直接稱謂)	Father's first elder brother (direct address).
	pü(pi) o	伯父,叔父	Father's elder brother, father's younger brother.

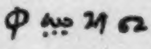
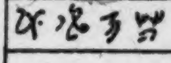
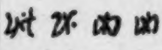
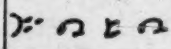
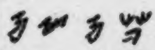
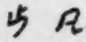
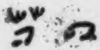
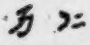
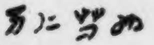
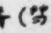
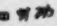
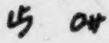
601

	mo gni	伯母,叔母,姨母	Father's elder brother's wife, father's younger brother's wife, mother's sister.
	a bur	姑母,岳母,姑	Father's sister, wife's mother, husband's mother.
	i pi	姑丈,岳父,翁 (字普通讀為 gni 音)	Father's sister's husband, wife's father, husband's father. is ordinarily pronounced as gni.
	o gni	舅父,岳父,翁	Mother's brother, wife's father, husband's father.
	gni gni	舅母,岳母,姑	Mother's brother's wife, wife's mother, husband's mother.
	nga	我	Self.
	i de	自己	Ego.
	lo dzo	丈夫	Husband
	mi gni	妻	Wife.
	vi ts'o	兄,堂兄,姨兄	Elder brother, father's elder brother's son, mother's elder sister's son.
	ma ma	大哥(直接稱謂)	First elder brother (direct address).

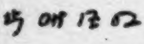
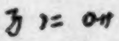
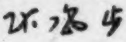
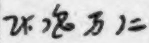
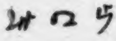
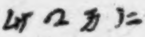
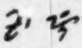
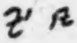
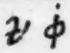
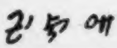
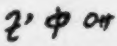
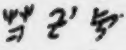
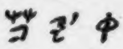
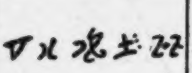
601

	a mi	嫂,姨嫂,舅表姊妹(直接稱謂)	Elder brother's wife, mother's sister's son's wife, mother's brother's elder and younger daughters (direct address).
	vi mo	姊,堂姊,姨姊	Elder sister, father's elder brother's daughter, mother's elder sister's daughter.
	a vi	大姊(直接稱謂)	First elder sister (direct address).
	i i	弟,堂弟,姨弟	Younger brother, father's younger brother's son, mother's younger sister's son.
	gui ma	弟婦,姨弟婦	Younger brother's wife, mother's younger sister's son's wife.
	gui mo	妹,堂妹,姨妹	Younger sister, father's younger brother's daughter, mother's younger sister's daughter.
	a-ber zin	姑表兄弟	Father's sister's elder and younger sons.
	a m	姑表姊妹,大嫂或大姑(直接稱謂)	Father's sister's elder and younger daughters, first elder brother's wife or husband's first elder sister (direct address).
	o gui zin	舅表兄弟	Mother's brother's elder and younger sons.
	o zie	舅表兄弟,妻兄弟,及親家三者的直接稱謂	Mother's brother's elder and younger sons, wife's elder and younger brothers, parents of husband and parents of wife (direct address for all three).
	o gui a mi	舅表姊妹	Mother's brother's elder and younger daughters.

601

	ma dza gai mo	兄弟，姊妹，平行從表（包括堂兄弟姊妹及姨表兄弟姊妹）	Elder brother, younger brother, elder sister, younger sister, parallel cousins (including father's elder and younger brother's sons and daughters, and mother's elder and younger sister's sons and daughters).
	o zie a se	交錯從表或姑舅表兄弟姊妹	Cross-cousins, or father's sister's sons and daughters and mother's brother's sons and daughters.
	vi o i i	兄弟，姨兄弟，連襟	Elder brother, younger brother, mother's sister's sons, husbands of sisters.
	vi mo gai mo	姊妹，妯娌，姨姊妹	Elder sister, younger sister, wives of brothers, mother's sister's daughters.
	a mí a se	姑嫂，親母	Husband's sister, brother's wife, blood mother.
	zin	子	Son.
	zin ži	子媳	Son's wife.
	se mo	子媳，外甥女，及內姪女三者的直接稱謂	Son's wife, sister's daughter, and brother's daughter (direct address for all three).
	a mi	女	Daughter
	a mi se zer	婿（一詞應用于發生婚姻關係之男子，如姑丈，姊妹丈，女婿，侄婿，甥婿等）	Daughter's husband (the term  is applied to males related by marriage, such as father's sister's husband, elder or younger sister's husband, daughter's husband, brother's daughter's husband, sister's daughter's husband, etc.).
	zin du	侄，姨侄	Brother's son, mother's sister's son's son.

60i

	zin du či mo	侄媳，姨侄媳	Brother's son's wife, mother's sister's son's son's wife.
	a mi du	侄女，姨侄女	Brother's daughter, mother's sister's son's daughter.
	o zie zin	舅表侄，婿，侄婿	Mother's brother's son's son, daughter's husband, brother's daughter's husband.
	o zie a mi	舅表侄女，媳，侄媳	Mother's brother's son's daughter, son's wife, brother's son's wife.
	gui mo zin	外甥，婿，侄婿	Sister's son, daughter's husband, brother's daughter's husband.
	gui mo a mi	外甥女，媳，侄媳	Sister's daughter, son's wife, brother's son's wife.
	ər bu	孫，曾孫，玄孫	Son's son, son's son's son, son's son's son's son.
	ər ci	孫媳	Son's son's wife.
	ər ma	孫女	Son's daughter.
	ər bu du	侄孫	Brother's son's son.
	ər ma du	侄孫女	Brother's son's daughter.
	sa ər bu	外孫	Daughter's son.
	sa ər ma	外孫女	Daughter's daughter.
	či ga zie nū zi	長次三四五（此五音加於名詞之後，用於直接稱謂，以表示長幼之次序）	First, second, third, fourth, fifth (These five sounds are added to the end of each term in direct address to indicate the order of their age).

Notes on Lolo Pronunciation

601

104

b, d, dz, g:	containing perhaps two kinds of sound--voiced consonant and soft, voiceless consonant--but indistinguishable here.
č, p:	strongly aspirated stops.
s, č, dz, z:	placement for pronunciation not clear.
ng:	tongue-root nasal sound, as in English "sing."
gn:	tongue-blade nasal sound, as in French "magnifique."
ar:	like the "r" sound in western United States, or as in English "bird."
a:	mixed or back non-lip-rounded vowel.
ü:	front lip-rounded vowel, as in French "tu."
z:	tongue-point vowel, as in Peking dialect "tzu" and "szu."
x:	tongue-root fricative, as in German "rauchen."
-n:	indicating nasalized vowel.
ī, ū:	diacritical marks to indicate long vowel, but may be due to differences in pronunciation.

B. Lolo Terms of Direct Address

Table 1

601

Direct address used by younger brother and younger sister for elder brother and elder sister (including elder brother's wife).

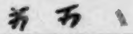
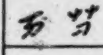
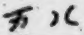
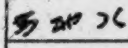
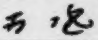
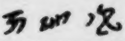
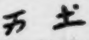
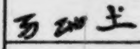
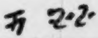
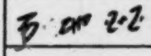
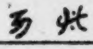
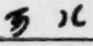
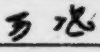
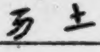
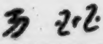
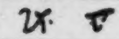
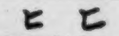
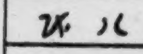
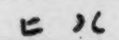
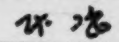
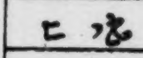
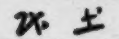
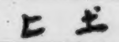
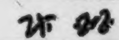
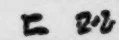
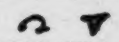
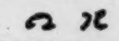
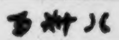
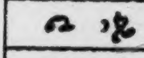
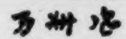
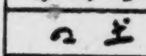
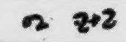
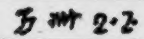
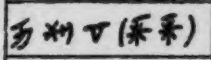
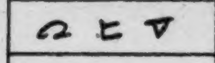
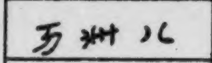
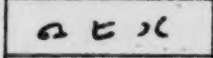
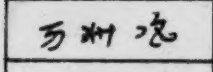
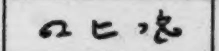
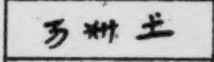
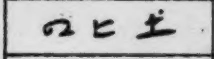
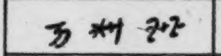
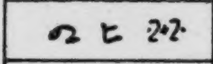
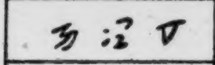
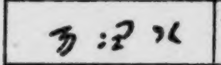
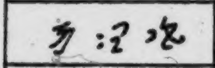
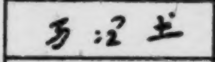
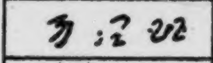
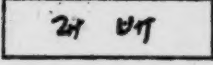
Lolo Language	Lolo Pronunciation	Chinese Translation	English Translation
	mu mu	大哥	First elder brother
	a sa	大嫂	First elder brother's wife
	mu ga	二哥	Second elder brother
	a mī ga	二嫂	Second elder brother's wife
	mu zie	三哥	Third elder brother
	a mi zie	三嫂	Third elder brother's wife
	mu mï	四哥	Fourth elder brother
	a mī mï	四嫂	Fourth elder brother's wife
	mu zi	五哥	Fifth elder brother
	a mī zi	五嫂	Fifth elder brother's wife
	a vi	大姊	First elder sister
	a ga	二姊	Second elder sister
	a zie	三姊	Third elder sister
	a mï	四姊	Fourth elder sister
	a zi	五姊	Fifth elder sister

Table 2

Direct address for mother's brother, mother's brother's wife, mother's sister, mother's sister's husband.			
Lolo Language	Lolo Pronunciation	Chinese Translation	English Translation
	o ži	大舅父	Mother's first elder brother
	gni gni	大舅母	Mother's first elder brother's wife
	o ga	二舅父	Mother's second elder brother
	gni ga	二舅母	Mother's second elder brother's wife
	o zie	三舅父	Mother's third elder brother
	gni zie	三舅母	Mother's third elder brother's wife
	o nǐ	四舅父	Mother's fourth elder brother
	gni nǐ	四舅母	Mother's fourth elder brother's wife
	o zi	五舅父	Mother's fifth elder brother
	gni zi	五舅母	Mother's fifth elder brother's wife
	mo ži	大姨母	Mother's first elder sister
	a bo ži	大姨父	Mother's first elder sister's husband
	mo ga	二姨母	Mother's second elder sister
	a bo ga	二姨父	Mother's second elder sister's husband
	mo zie	三姨母	Mother's third elder sister
	a bo zie	三姨父	Mother's third elder sister's husband
	mo nǐ	四姨母	Mother's fourth elder sister
	a bo nǐ	四姨父	Mother's fourth elder sister's husband
	mo zi	五姨母	Mother's fifth elder sister
	a bo zi	五姨父	Mother's fifth elder sister's husband

.601

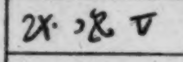
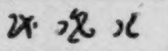
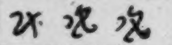
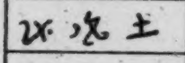
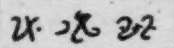
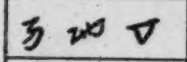
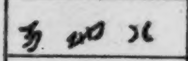
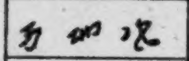
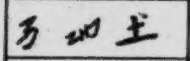
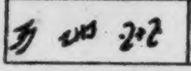
Table 5

Direct address for father's elder brother, father's elder brother's wife, father's younger brother, father's younger brother's wife, and father's sister (including father's sister husband).			
Lolo Language	Lolo Pronunciation	Chinese Translation	English Translation
	a be či (da da)	伯父	Father's elder brother
	mo gni či	伯母	Father's elder brother's wife
	a be ga	伯父或叔父	Father's elder brother or father's younger brother
	mo gni ga	伯母或叔母	Father's elder brother's wife or father's younger brother's wife
	a be zie	伯父或叔父	Father's elder brother or father's younger brother
	mo gni zie	伯母或叔母	Father's elder brother's wife or father's younger brother's wife
	a be nü	伯父或叔父	Father's elder brother or father's younger brother
	mo gni nü	伯母或叔母	Father's elder brother's wife or father's younger brother's wife
	a be zi	叔父	Father's younger brother
	mo gni zi	叔母	Father's younger brother's wife
	a ber či	大姑母	Father's first elder sister
	a ber ga	二姑母	Father's second elder sister
	a ber zie	三姑母	Father's third elder sister
	a ber nü	四姑母	Father's fourth elder sister
	a ber zi	五姑母	Father's fifth elder sister
	i pī	姑夫	Father's sister's husband

601

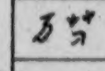
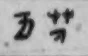
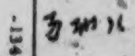
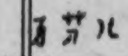
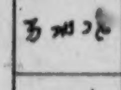
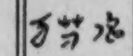
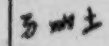
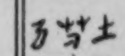
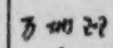
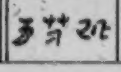
Table 4

Direct address for mother's brother's sons and daughters

Lolo Language	Lolo Pronunciation	Chinese Translation	English Translation
	o zie či	舅之長子	Mother's brother's eldest son
	o zie ga	舅之次子	Mother's brother's second son
	o zie zie	舅之三子	Mother's brother's third son
	o zie mī	舅之四子	Mother's brother's fourth son
	o zie zi	舅之五子	Mother's brother's fifth son
	a mī či	舅之長女	Mother's brother's eldest daughter
	a mī ga	舅之次女	Mother's brother's second daughter
	a mī zie	舅之三女	Mother's brother's third daughter
	a mī mū	舅之四女	Mother's brother's fourth daughter
	a mī zi	舅之五女	Mother's brother's fifth daughter

109

Table 5

Direct address between sisters-in-law							
Sister addressing brother's wife				Wife addressing husband's sister			
Lolo Language	Lolo Pronunciation	Chinese Translation	English Translation	Lolo Language	Lolo Pronunciation	Chinese Translation	English Translation
	a sa	大嫂	First elder brother's wife		a sa	大姑	Husband's first elder sister
	a mī ga	二嫂	Second elder brother's wife		a sa ga	二姑	Husband's second elder sister
	a mī si	三嫂	Third elder brother's wife		a sa sie	三姑	Husband's third elder sister
	a mī ni	四嫂	Fourth elder brother's wife		a sa ni	四姑	Husband's fourth elder sister
	a mī si	五嫂	Fifth elder brother's wife		a sa si	五姑	Husband's fifth elder sister